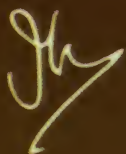


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AT DUM DUM AIRPORT, CALCUTTA, 1 MARCH 1960
From left : Khrushchev, B.C. Roy, Nehru and Padmaja Naidu

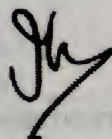
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SECOND SERIES

Volume Fifty Eight (1 March – 25 March 1960)

Editor

MADHAVAN K. PALAT



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FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

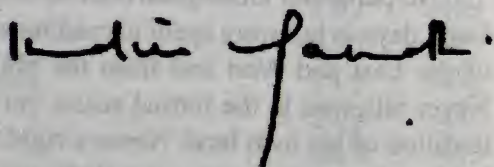
That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both

within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interests in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.



New Delhi
18 January 1972

Chairman
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

EDITORIAL NOTE

This brief period of twenty-five days in March is notable for the correspondence about Nagaland and about corruption, which C. D. Deshmukh relentlessly raised with Nehru, sometimes to the latter's exasperation. While most of the exchanges about internal politics follow their well-worn course, a flurry of correspondence crops up about the case of Commander Nanavati whose trial for murder led to tensions between the executive and the judiciary. While China and the Dalai Lama never go off the radar, the record of talks with Khrushchev, following on the ones in February in volume 57, is of special interest.

Some of the speeches have been transcribed; hence the paragraphing, punctuation, and other such details have been inserted. When no text or recording of a speech was available, a newspaper report has been used as a substitute. Such a newspaper report, once selected for publication, has been reproduced faithfully; other information has been added only by way of annotation. Words and expressions which were inaudible or unintelligible have been shown by an ellipsis between square brackets thus: [...]. Most items here are from Nehru's office copies. In personal letters, and even in official letters composed in personal style to persons like B. C. Roy or Govind Ballabh Pant, the salutation and concluding portions were written by hand; such details are not recorded in the office copy. Therefore these have been inserted in Nehru's customary style for such persons, but the editorial intervention is indicated by square brackets. Information on persons may always be traced through the index if it is not available in the footnote. References to the *Selected Works* appear as SWJN/FS/10/..., to be understood as *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, First Series, Volume 10. In the case of the Second Series, it would be SWJN/SS/.... The part and page numbers follow the volume number.

Documents, which have been referred to as items, are numbered sequentially throughout the volume; footnote numbering however is continuous only within a section, not between sections. A map of the boundary between India and China has been reproduced from White Paper II of 1959 and is placed at the end of the volume.

Nehru's speeches or texts in Hindi have been published in Hindi and a translation into English has been appended in each case for those who might need or want a translation.

A large part of Nehru's archives is housed in the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library and is known as the JN Collection. This has been the chief source for items here, and has been made available by Shrimati Sonia Gandhi, the Chairperson of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund. Unless otherwise stated, all items are from this collection. The Nehru Memorial Museum and Library has been immensely helpful in so many ways, and it is a pleasure to record our thanks to it. The Cabinet Secretariat, the secretariats of the President and Prime Minister, various ministries of the Government of India, All India Radio, the Press Information Bureau, and the National Archives of India, all have permitted us to use material in their possession. We are grateful to *The Hindu*, the *National Herald*, *Shankar's Weekly*, and in particular to R. K. Laxman for permission to reproduce reports and cartoons. I am especially grateful to Mehrdad Samadzadeh of Toronto University for invaluable help with references.

Finally, it is my pleasure to thank those who bore the heavy burden of preparing this volume for publication, most of all Geeta Kudaisya and Fareena Ikhlas Faridi. The Hindi texts have been prepared by Mohammed Khalid Ansari, and the translation from the Hindi was done by Chandra Chari. Chandra Murari Prasad ably handled all the computer work, including preparing the entire text for the press.

Madhavan K. Palat

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I. GENERAL

(a) Speeches

1. In Dholpur: Public Meeting¹

बहिनो और भाइयो,
अब और कार्यवाही हो चुकी, हमारी आपकी बारी आयी। तो, थोड़ी देर कुछ जो मेरे मन में बातें हैं, वो मैं आपके सामने रखूँ। मन में तो बातें बहुत हैं और यह इच्छा है कि आपको बताऊँ, समझाऊँ। क्योंकि हम सबों को इस देश में बड़े-बड़े काम करने हैं। मैं यहाँ आया एक पुल को देखने, और थोड़ी देर बाद वहाँ जाऊँगा।² अभी आपने सुना, राज बहादुर³ जी कह रहे थे कि कितने पुल हमारे देश में बने, कितने और बनेंगे। तो नदी के ऊपर पुल तो अच्छी चीज़ है, जनता का लाभ होता है। तो ऐसे पुल बनने चाहिए। लेकिन मेरे मन में तो और बहुत तरह से पुल भी हैं, खाली नदी के और नाले के ऊपर पुल नहीं, बल्कि बहुत सारे हमें पुल इस देश में बनाने हैं।

पुल बनाने हैं—आपस के दिलों के पुल। एक दूसरे के सम्बन्ध में, कि हम लोग मिलकर रहें, प्रेम से रहें, सहयोग से काम करें, देश की सेवा करें, अपनी सेवा करें। बहुत सारे पुल, लेकिन सब में बड़ा पुल जो हमें बनाना है और बन रहा है वो, वो पुल है जिसके ऊपर चल के हमारे देश की जनता, दरिद्रता से निकल कर खुशहाली पर पहुँचे, उसके दुःख दूर हों। कौन बनाये इस बड़े पुल को, जिस पर तीस चालीस करोड़ लोग, जो हमारे देश की आबादी तो करीब चालीस करोड़ की हो गयी है, जो इत्ते लोग, उस पुल से चल के जायें उस पार। कौन बनाये? यही जनता बनाये और कौन बनाये? हाँ, कुछ लोग सहायता करें, बतायें लेकिन ये देश का बड़ा भारी पुल जिस पर हम सब लोग चल के अपने दुःख से दूर होकर कुछ हमें थोड़ा सा सुख भी मिले, सारी जनता को, उसकी दरिद्रता दूर हो। हमारे सुंदर बच्चे हैं, लड़के हैं, लड़कियाँ हैं उनका जीवन अच्छा हो, उनको अच्छी पढ़ाई-लिखाई का मौका मिले, उनको सब लोगों को ठीक काम करने को मिले, उनको सब लोगों को ठीक खाने को मिले, वस्त्र मिले, घर रहने को मिले, काम करने को मिले और अपने काम से वो अपना लाभ करें और देश का। ऐसा हमें पुल बनाना है इस देश में। इस पर आप विचार करें कि कितना बड़ा काम है ये कि जो चालीस करोड़ आदमी का है, सारे हमारे देश का। तो जब कोई बड़ा काम उठाते हैं तो वो काम, लोग अलग-अलग इक्के-दुक्के हो के नहीं कर सकते। आप में अलग-अलग क्या शक्ति है बड़े काम करने की। मुझ में क्या शक्ति

1. Speech, 15 March 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.
2. After this meeting, Nehru inaugurated a submersible bridge across the Chambal in Dholpur on the Agra-Bombay national highway.
3. Union Minister of State for Transport and Communications.

है? लेकिन आप और मैं और हम सब मिल जाते हैं काम करने को, तो महाशक्ति हो जाती, बड़े काम हो जाते हैं। तो जो इत्ता बड़ा काम हमारे देश में उठा वो जभी हो सकता है जब हम सब लोग उसको कुछ समझें और समझकर मिलकर हाथ बढ़ाएँ, कंधा दें तब हो सकता है।

इसलिए बड़ी-बड़ी योजनाएँ, बड़े-बड़े नक्शे बनते हैं। वो योजना का कमीशन एक दिल्ली में है, आपने शायद सुना हो कि नहीं, वो बैठता है। एक पहली पंचवर्षीय योजना रही, फिर दूसरी हुई, अब हो रही है, अभी से हम सोच रहे हैं साल भर बाद से तीसरी हो, ये सब क्या हो? वो सब ये बड़ा पुल बनाना है जो हमें दरिद्रता और गरीबी से हमारी जनता को ले जाए उस पार। जब इते बड़े कामों में हम पड़ते हैं तो बोझा उठाना पड़ता है कोई काम बगैर परिश्रम के नहीं होता, बगैर त्याग के नहीं होता। हमने स्वराज्य की लड़ाई लड़ी, आप लोगों ने हमने सबों ने देश भर में, बहुत बरसों चली। हमारे नेता बड़े भारी महापुरुष थे महात्मा जी लेकिन कितना ही बड़ा नेता हो खाली नेता तो कुछ नहीं कर सकता। नेता, जनता में जान देता है। आखिर में बोझा जनता पे पड़ता है काम करने का, सबका।

तो स्वराज्य की लड़ाई में वर्षों तक कितना परिश्रम हुआ, कितने लोग, हमारे भाई गोली से मारे गये। कितने लाखों आदमी जेल में पड़े रहे उस समय और कितने परिवार टूट गये। सब मालूम है। हमारे भारत के इतिहास की एक कहानी हो गयी है ये। जैसे और भी बहुत कहानियाँ यहाँ राजस्थान की हैं। विशेषकर, ये भी सारे भारत की एक कहानी हो गयी, हमारे स्वराज्य की लड़ाई की। और उस लड़ाई को भी हमने जैसे लड़ा था, हमारे स्वराज्य की लड़ाई को हमने जैसे लड़ा था, शांति से, और प्रेम से। एक सारे संसार के लिए एक नया, नया सबक रखा है। तो उसमें हमारी शक्ति आई थी मिलकर काम करने से। अलग-अलग लोग भारत के रहने वाले, उत्तर हिमालय पहाड़ से ले के दक्षिण में वहाँ कन्याकुमारी जो है, लंका के पास, सारा भारत तो यहाँ से वहाँ तक है और इसमें तरह-तरह के लोग हैं। आपके राजस्थान में पहले अनेक राज्य थे, मिलकर ये बड़ा प्रदेश राजस्थान हुआ।⁴ लेकिन ये बड़ा प्रदेश राजस्थान नहीं थे। तो एक प्रदेश है, हमारे देश का। यहाँ आप, जहाँ धौलपुर में हैं, उधर मध्य प्रदेश है, उधर उत्तर प्रदेश है, और थोड़े दूर जाओ तो पंजाब है, और दूर जाओ तो बंगाल है, आसाम है, बम्बई है, मद्रास है और मैसूर है। और, कितने हमारे देश के बड़े-बड़े प्रान्त और प्रदेश हैं। सब मिल के भारत होता है, हिन्दुस्तान होता है, इंडिया होता है। ये सब नाम हमारे देश के हैं, प्राचीन नाम। तो ये सब लोगों ने मिल के काम किया था। तो हमारी बड़ी शक्ति हो गयी और स्वराज्य मिला।

अब स्वराज्य मिलने से तो हमारे दुःख दूर नहीं हुए। स्वराज्य मिलने से हमारा रास्ता साफ हो गया। इस तरह से, जो लोग हमें रोकते थे, जो हमारे यहाँ राज्य था, परदेसी राज्य था। परदेसी राज्य में तो कोई देश बढ़ता नहीं है तो अब वो तो हट गया। हट तो गया, लेकिन उसके हटने से बड़ा लाभ हमें हुआ। हमारा रास्ता खुला, लेकिन हमारी कठिनाई तो दूर नहीं हुई, हमारी गरीबी। खाली हमें समय मिला था। अब जो इत्ते कई सौ बरस से दबा हुआ हो देश, उसको उठाना

4 The state of Rajasthan was formed on 1 November 1956.

कठिन काम है आसान नहीं है। वो गरीबी के दलदल में फँसे हुए हैं कई सौ बरस से, कैसे निकलें? हमारी जनता दुर्बल हो गयी। हमारी जनता दुर्बल हो, अनपढ़ हो गयी। हमारी जनता आजकल के काम नहीं कर सकती, क्योंकि उसको मौका नहीं मिलता। हमारी जनता तो बड़ी चतुर है, अच्छी है, तगड़ी है, लेकिन तुम कितने चतुर हो, मौका न दो तो वो क्या करें? मौका मिलना चाहिए सबको। तो हमें अब मौका मिला और हमने कई सौ बरस का बोझ अपनी पीठ से हटाया, तब हम खड़े हो सके थे और एक ही तरह से हट सकता है कि हम सोचें, विचार करें कि किधर हम जा रहे हैं, कैसे जायें, और मिलकर उस काम को करें।

पिछले दस वर्ष से, दस बारह बरस से, भारत में यही काम हो रहा है। सोचकर, विचार करके योजनाएँ बनाएँ। जिससे सारा देश उठे, सारी जनता उठे। ये काम नहीं है, मेरे पास कोई लोग आए, आते हैं कि हमें नौकरी दिलवा दो, सरकारी नौकरी या कोई और। आते हैं, नौजवान और उनको आने का हक है, वो आयें। लेकिन सौ दो सौ या हजार दो हजार आदमियों को नौकरी का प्रश्न तो नहीं है। यहाँ तो चालीस करोड़ आदमी का प्रश्न है। जब चालीस करोड़ आदमी किसी की नौकरी करें, अपनी, अपने काम की तो इसलिए ये चित्र आपको समझना है। अब यहाँ, आप देखिए हमारे देश के लोग कैसे हैं? क्या काम किया करते हैं? आप जानते हैं कि चालीस करोड़ में से तीस करोड़ आदमी तो खेती, ज़मीन पर रहते हैं। उनमें से अधिकतर खेती करते हैं। तो सबसे बड़ा प्रश्न तो हो गया, वो लोग जो खेती करते हैं या ज़मीन पर रहते हैं, उनका। अगर उनका उद्धार नहीं हो तो फिर कैसे देश का हो? खाली दिल्ली, बम्बई, कलकत्ते के उद्धार से देश का होता है? यह तो बात नहीं ठीक है।

तो वो तो खेती हुई एक तरफ़ से, दूसरी तरफ़ से खेती के अलावा भी तो बहुत काम देश में होते हैं। तब देश बढ़ता है, उद्योग धंधे होते हैं, कारख़ाने होते हैं, मशीन चलती है, छोटी मशीन जो आपके घर में चले, बड़ी मशीन जिसका बड़ा भारी मकान हो। रेल चलती है, रेल को बनाओ, हवाई जहाज़ चलता है, उसको बनाओ और दुनिया में जितनी चीज़ें आप देखते हैं उसको बनाना। जिस देश में ये चीज़ें सब बनती हैं अपने काम के लिए, वो देश तरक्की करता है। क्योंकि उसके बनाने से धन पैदा होता है, जो बनाते हैं उनको काम मिलता है, बेकारी हटती है और देश में धन आता है, देश के बाहर धन नहीं जाता। तो हमें एक तरफ़ खेती का काम करना अच्छी तरह से, और दूसरी तरफ़ से ये कारख़ाने, छोटे-बड़े, घरेलू धंधे, ग्राम उद्योग ये सब करना है साथ-साथ। तब देश बढ़े और तब बेकारी, बेरोज़गारी भी हटे। यह बड़ा प्रश्न है।

खेती को आप लें, जो सबसे बड़ी बात है। मालूम नहीं, आप लोगों में से कितने-कितने लोग दिल्ली गये हों, वहाँ नुमाइश रही, प्रदर्शनी थी खेती की।¹ आप में से कई लोग दिल्ली गये हों प्रदर्शनी देखने तो हाथ उठाये दें वो, हाँ हाँ, अच्छा, अच्छा। तो अब बड़ी प्रदर्शनी रही। मालूम नहीं आपने देख के उससे क्या सीखा? कई बातें, एक तो यह आपने देखा होगा कि अब नये-नये ढंग की कैसे खेती होने लगी है। हमारे देश में और विदेश में तो ये ही। और नये ढंग के मेरे

5. The World Agricultural Fair was held in Delhi from 11 December 1959 to 29 February 1960. See SWJN/SS/55/item 78 and SWJN/SS/57/item 94.

माने नहीं हैं कि पहाड़ का पहाड़ एक खड़ा हुआ मशीन, बहुत भारी मशीन आपने देखी होगी, उससे मेरा मतलब नहीं। वो भी जहाँ चले, चले। लेकिन बहुत कुछ छोटी कलें, छोटे औज़ार या कोई छोटी मशीन जो गाँवों में ही चल सकती है, उसको आपने देखा होगा वहाँ, जिसके करने से फ़ौरन काम बढ़ जाता है, काम अच्छा होने लगता है, काम हल्का होता है, पैदावार अधिक होती है। अरे, तो तुम हल को लो मामूली हल, जैसे हल चलाते हैं अक्सर लोग अब तक यहाँ। वो हल वैसे ही हल यहाँ एक हज़ार बरस से चल रहे हैं, कोई उसमें फ़रक नहीं, किसी ने किया दुनिया बदल गयी। लेकिन भारत का हल नहीं बदला। अब क्या किया जाये? और हल को देखो तो ज़मीन को जैसे कोई नाखून से खुरचता है वैसे खुरच देता है कोई गहरा भी नहीं जाता ज़रा, ऐसा तो हल चलाते हैं, बहुत चलते हैं। और अच्छा हल आप ले लेना चाहें तो आजकल तो बड़े अच्छे हल निकलते हैं, पचास-साठ रुपये का सत्तर रुपये का बड़ा अच्छा हल मिलेगा, जिससे फ़ौरन ज़मीन अधिक खुदे और आपकी पैदावार अधिक बढ़ जाये। फ़ौरन एक फ़सल में उस जैसे बहुत हलों के दाम निकल आयें, छोटी एक बात मैंने आपसे कही। ऐसी और बातें, खेती के बारे में जो कि ज़रा ध्यान से उनको देखें, उसको करें तो आपका उसी खेत से पैदावार बढ़ जाये, उत्पादन। मालूम नहीं, मैं नहीं जानता आपके यहाँ कित्ता पैदा होता है? एक एकड़ ज़मीन में क्या होता है? यह पता नहीं कोई [...] हमारे देश का, देश की औसत शायद है दस मन फी एकड़। अच्छा और देशों में देखो, तो एक एकड़ में तीस-चालीस मन पैदा करते हैं, पच्चीस, तीस, चालीस मन एक एकड़ में। कौन सी बात है, क्यों इत्ता पैदा करते हैं? हम क्यों न करें। अरे, और देशों को छोड़ो, हमारे देश में बहुत लोगों को हमने किसानों को इनाम दिए हैं, पचास मन फी एकड़ उन्होंने पैदा किया है उन्होंने गेहूँ—सोचो, कहाँ तो मामूली दस मन है, उन्होंने पचास मन पैदा किया। माना कि उनकी ज़मीन अच्छी रही, खाद दिया और सेवा की, लेकिन कित्ता फ़रक हो गया दस मन में और पचास मन में। और पचास न सही अगर आप लोग हम कोशिश करें, वो पचास मन के बीस मन हो जाये औसत। तो सारे देश में दुगुना हो जाए। हमारे देश में, आपको दौलत आपके पास दुगुना हो जाए। और देश भर के पास दुगुना हो, और देश के पास पैसा आ जाये, जिससे हम तेज़ी से आगे बढ़ें।

आजकल यह बहस हो जाती है कि देश में अगर कोई वर्षा न हो, कोई बात हो, कमी हो जाये तो मुसीबत पड़ जाती है। यह तो नहीं होना चाहिए, चाहे वर्षा हो या अधिक हो हमारे पास काफी पैदा होना चाहिए, अगर ठीक तरीके से हम करें। इसलिए यह बहुत आवश्यक हो गया कि हमारी खेती में, हम आजकल जो नयी-नयी बातें होती हैं, उसको समझें। यह कोई बड़ी पेंच की बात नहीं है। क्या बातें नई हैं? अच्छा हल हो आपके पास, पानी आपका ठीक मिले और चुने हुए बीज लगाये जायें, और खाद अच्छी हो, खुद आप खाद बनायें, फर्टिलाइज़र मिले आपको तो आप लेते हैं, हमारे पास कमी है ज़रा उसकी, पानी का प्रबन्ध ऐसे करें, जिससे अधिक से अधिक आपके लाभ हों चार पाँच बातें हैं, जो सब किसान जानते हैं। हाँ, एक और बात है कि जो ये छोटे जानवर बहुत नाश करते हैं हमारे गुल्ले का, उससे बचाना। ये बातें हैं। सब कर सकते हैं और मिल के करें तो अधिक [हो]। क्योंकि आप देख सकते हैं आप और देशों में जायें तो आप देखें, वैसे आप जैसे किसान हैं और कित्ता पैदा करते हैं। और देशों में जाने की आपकी आवश्यकता नहीं है, आप हमारे देश में इधर-उधर फिरें तो आप देख सकते हैं, जहाँ-जहाँ अच्छा

काम हो, या आप लोग गये प्रदर्शनी में दिल्ली में। वहाँ आपने देखा हो, कित्ता पैदा करते हैं आजकल जो हमारे अच्छे किसान होते हैं।

तो सबसे बड़ा प्रश्न हमारे देश के लिए—पहला प्रश्न ज़मीन से अधिक से अधिक पैदा करें। इससे किसान का लाभ हो और देश का लाभ हो, सबों का लाभ हो, और इसमें कोई जादू नहीं है, कोई मंत्र पढ़ना नहीं है। जादू या मंत्र से काम नहीं होता। ये अक्ल से और परिश्रम से होते हैं। जो परिश्रमी लोग होते हैं देश में, उनका देश बढ़ता है। और ये काम चूँकि बहुत बड़ा काम है, मिलजुल के करें, उता ही लाभ होगा। इसलिए आपने सुना होगा कि हमने इस बात पर जोर दिया कि ये सहकारी संघ, कोऑपरेटिव सोसाइटी, हर गाँव में सहकारी संघ हो यानी ग्राम के रहने वाले, मिलकर सहकारी संघ बनायें, एक-दूसरे को सहयोग दें और उससे हर एक को लाभ हो। इसके माने यह नहीं हैं, क्योंकि लोग धोखा देते हैं कि ज़मीन किसी की छिन जाये। ज़मीन तो ज़मीन रहे जिसकी है उसकी, ज़मीन रहेगी उसकी जो काम करेगा। लेकिन बहुत सारी बातें अलग आदमी कर नहीं सकता, उसकी शक्ति नहीं है। कहाँ आपकी शक्ति है? एक अलग आदमी की। लेकिन गाँव में सहकारी संघ मिले, तो सहकारी संघ बने, सब मिल के एक दूसरे का कर सकते हैं, और अपनी ज़मीन तो अलग ही रहेगी। ज़मीन का तो नहीं लाभ सबों को होगा। नयी-नयी बातें हैं, नये-नये औज़ार हैं, ये मिलेंगे आपको। यहाँ तक कि मैंने देखा जहाँ सहकारी संघ होते हैं पानी की बड़ी कमी होती है। यहाँ तो मुझे मालूम नहीं कित्ता दूर पानी है। क्या, सहकारी संघ ने एक छोटा सा ट्यूब वेल बनाया, वहीं पानी निकल आया। थोड़ी देर के लिए काफी हो गया और कित्ती बातें हैं। ऊसर ज़मीन होती है बहुत। ऊसर ज़मीन कित्ती पड़ी रहती है। अब हमें मालूम है किस तरह से ऊसर ज़मीन को अच्छी ज़मीन करें। और एक, एक फ़सल के अंदर या एक समझो छः, सात, आठ महीने साल भर के अंदर ऊसर ज़मीन को बदल दें। बहुत रुपया खर्चने की भी आवश्यकता नहीं है। थोड़ा रुपया खर्च के पानी की आवश्यकता है और एक खास चीज़ है, उसे वहाँ लगा देने से जो ऊसर ज़मीन में कुछ नमक आ जाये, आ जाता है वो नमक वहाँ से हट जाता है, उससे वो अच्छी ज़मीन अच्छी हो जाती है। तो ऐसे एक मैं छोटी बात आपको बिल्कुल बताऊँ, आजकल पतझड़ का ज़माना, समय है, और दिल्ली में कित्ते पत्ते गिरते हैं, सूखे पत्ते और हमारे ही लोग उनको उठा-उठा के जला देते हैं। यह बड़ी मूर्खता है। खैर, उसकी आप खाद बना सकते हैं। लेकिन सूखे पत्ते वो अगर आप कुचल के, चूरा करके उसको एक बोरे में भर के रखें तो उससे अच्छी खाद आपके पास नहीं हो सकती।¹ और खास एक काम काम के लिए, वो खाद वो, वो नमकीन ज़मीन को उसका नमक कम करने के लिए। अब छोटी सी बात हो गयी यह, यह सब ज़ाया करते हैं, करके उसको आप डालिए पानी में मिला के, ऊसर ज़मीन उससे भली हो जाती है। अब इत्ते सूखे पत्ते आपको न मिलें, यह और बात है। और ऐसी बहुत सारी बातें हैं, चुटकले हैं, जिससे हम अगर सोचें-समझें, हम सीख सकते हैं और हम सारे अपनी ज़मीन का यह नक्शा बदल दे सकते हैं।

6. See Appendix 57 for K.N. Kaul's note on Dry Leaf manure.

अब आपके यहाँ राजस्थान में, एक बात हुई है जिससे मुझे बहुत प्रसन्नता है। और वो ये है कि आपके यहाँ ये पंचायतें, पंचायतें-समितियाँ बनी हैं, और ज़िला परिषद या क्या कहलाता है। ये तो सारे देश का हमारा यह कार्यक्रम है। लेकिन सबसे पहले ये राजस्थान में पार साल बनी हैं, उसके बाद दक्षिण में आंध्र प्रदेश है, वहाँ बनीं, अब और प्रदेश भी, प्रान्त भी उसको बना रहे हैं। तो ये एक बड़ी दूर की बात है। और इससे मैं समझता हूँ इन पंचायत और पंचायत-समितियों से वो बड़ा पुल बनेगा जिससे यहाँ की देहाती जनता—दरिद्र—दरिद्रता से निकल के आगे बढ़े, खुशहाली में जाये। तो जब-जब मेरे पास राजस्थान से फिर से कोई आदमी आता है तो मैं पूछता हूँ कि पंचायत समितियाँ कैसी चल रही हैं। अब तक जो मेरे पास ख़बर आई है, वो अच्छी है क्योंकि मैं इसको एक बड़ी क्रांतिकारी चीज़ समझता हूँ। क्यों, आप पूछें।

मैं आपसे कहता हूँ पुल बनाना और बहुत सारे काम करना वो सब तो ठीक। लेकिन आदमी बनाना, तगड़ा आदमी, समझदार आदमी, परिश्रमी आदमी, सहयोगी आदमी, आदमी बनाना। आखिर में कोई देश की गिनती देश की ख़ाली जनता की गिनती से नहीं होती। ख़ाली गिनती से तो भेड़-बकरी की गिनती होती है, आदमियों की ख़ाली गिनती से नहीं होती। दस आदमी सौ आदमी से अधिक से अच्छे हों और दस तगड़े आदमी सौ कमज़ोर से अच्छे हों। ऐसी बात है थोड़े से समझदार आदमी, सीखे हुए आदमी, बहादुर आदमी वे कहीं ज़्यादा काम कर सकते हैं, बनिस्बत निकम्मे लोगों के। तो देश में देश को बढ़ाने के लिए, देश के आदमियों को बढ़ाना होता है। आदमियों में पुरुष-स्त्री सब काम करने की शक्ति हो, उनमें सहयोग की शक्ति हो, उनमें आत्मविश्वास हो, अपने ऊपर भरोसा हो, उनके दिल में डर नहीं हो, वो देश बड़ा होता है। ख़ाली भेड़-बकरी के गिनती के देश बड़े नहीं होते हैं। तो हमारे लिए इस देश में प्रश्न बड़ा यह रहा और रहेगा कि यहाँ की जनता जो कि अच्छी जनता है, उसमें यह अभय पैदा करे, उससे कुछ सीखकर अच्छा काम कर सके, जो आजकल के नये संसार को, नयी दुनिया को समझे, क्या-क्या नयी दुनिया में बातें होती हैं विज्ञान से और बातों से, उसको सीखें और करें। क्योंकि उसमें कोई जादू नहीं है। आप रेल पे आते हैं, यहाँ सब यात्रा करते हैं, अब रेल कोई जादू नहीं है? आप अपने लड़के को भेजिए स्कूल, कॉलेज में पढ़ने, वो इंजीनियर हो के रेल चलायेगा, इंजन ड्राइवर हो जायेगा, या इंजीनियर हो के रेल बनायेगा। कोई भी सीख सकता है, लड़का-लड़की, कोई छुपी बात नहीं है। मैं हवाई जहाज़ से यहाँ आया, अजीब बात है ना? हवा में उड़ के आया। लेकिन जिस चीज़ पर मैं आया उड़कर वो आप ही के लड़के बना सकते हैं, ज़रा सा दो-चार बरस सीख के, और बनाते हैं हमारे लोग और बना रहे हैं, उधर बैंगलोर में और कहाँ कहाँ। ये सब बातें सीखने से आती हैं परिश्रम से। कोई जादू नहीं है।

तो हमें, लोगों को अपनी जनता को उठाना है, उस दिन तक जब कोई देश गुलाम रहता है, दास हो जाता है, तो दुर्बल हो जाता है उसकी कमर झुक जाती है, उसका दिल सूख जाता है, उसमें दम नहीं होता कुछ करने का और असल में दम की ज़रूरत है, जान की ज़रूरत है। जानदार लोग होते हैं, बेजान लोग होते हैं। तो हमें अपने देश में महात्मा जी ने जान दी, बेजान कौम में जान डाली, और इसलिए एक बड़ा यहाँ यह इंकलाब हुआ। तो सारा देश हिल गया, क्योंकि यहाँ की जनता में बड़ी शक्ति है, आप में बड़ी शक्ति है। अगर समझ कर उसको चलाएँ, और सहयोग से और शांति से, बड़ी शक्ति है। अंग्रेज़ी राज्य को हटाने की शक्ति थी तो अपने

देश को बदल देने की भी शक्ति है। दरिद्रता को यहाँ से निकाल देने की शक्ति है परिश्रम से, यों नहीं। ख़ाली नारे उठाके नहीं, यह तो परिश्रम से होता है, खेती में तय निकलता है।

तो मैं आपसे कह रहा हूँ कि असल चीज़ जो होती है वो मनुष्य को बनाना, तो मनुष्य सब करता है, चाहे खेती हो, चाहे कारख़ाना हो, चाहे कल हो, चाहे कुछ हो। आपसे, हम चाहते हैं कि सब हमारे देश के बाल बच्चे स्कूल जाएँ, क्यों? ख़ाली यह इसलिए नहीं कि पढ़ के ज़रा बाबू बन के कहीं जाकर लिखा पढ़ी करें। [...] तो उनको मौका मिले बढ़ने का और उनमें शक्ति हो बड़े-बड़े काम करने की, हम चाहते हैं आपका एक-एक बच्चा पढ़ के एक सुंदर लड़का-लड़की हो जो कि बड़े काम कर सके। और पढ़ने से दरवाज़ा खुल जाता है, द्वार खुल जाता है आगे बढ़ने का। मैं नहीं चाहता कि पढ़ के बाबू हो जायें वो। मैं कहता हूँ कि पढ़ के आप के खेत में खेती करें। अच्छी खेती करें, आपकी खेती चमक उठे। अगर आपका बच्चा पढ़ रहा है, आजकल की नयी बातें और खेती करे, तो खेती चमक जाये। मुझे नहीं अच्छा लगता लोग दौड़े-दौड़े दिल्ली जायें, बड़े-बड़े शहरों में जाकर वहाँ नौकरी ढूँढ़ें। हमें अपनी ज़मीन को अच्छा करना है तो यह है।

अब ये जो पंचायत समितियाँ बनीं यहाँ, इसके पीछे क्या बात है? मैं आपको बता दूँ, काम अच्छा हो वो तो है, उसके पीछे बात यह है कि हमारी जनता के अच्छे आदमी बनें, और अच्छी औरतें बनें। उनमें खुद काम करने की शक्ति आये, अपने ऊपर भरोसा हो, ये नहीं कि दौड़े-दौड़े जा रहे हैं सरकारी अफ़सर के पास कि कराय दो, या मन्त्री के पास, जयपुर और दिल्ली जा रहे हैं ये कराय दो। हाय हाय कर करने वाले लोग नहीं देश बनाते हैं। जो खुद काम करने को तैयार हैं, करते हैं और कराते हैं, वो देश बनाते हैं। तो जब पंचायत समिति के द्वारा आपको, पंचायत समिति को, पंचायतों को नयी ज़िम्मेदारी दे दी गयी, काम दिया गया, पैसा भी उसके साथ मिला उन्हें करने के लिए, तब तो उनके ऊपर बोझ पड़ा करने का, फिर किस के पास दौड़ के जायेंगे कहने कि कराय दो। करना है तो कराओ खुद करो। तो इससे एकदम से उनकी परीक्षा हो जाती है और इससे वो बढ़ने लगते हैं। जिसके ऊपर खुद काम करना होता है, वो अपने ऊपर भरोसा करता है। जो दूसरे की तरफ़ देखता रहता है, वो निकम्मा हो जाता है। तो पंचायत समिति के पीछे ये बड़ी बात है कि जनता अपने हाथ में शक्ति ले, अपने हाथ में काम ले और अपनी भलाई खुद कर सके। हाँ, और लोग उसकी सहायता करें। हमारे मंत्रीगण हैं, सरकारी लोग हैं अफ़सर लोग हैं, कर्मचारी हैं, मदद करें। लेकिन हम नहीं चाहते कि कर्मचारी जा के इन संस्थाओं में, चाहे पंचायत समिति हो, चाहे वो हो, सहकारी संघ हो कि कर्मचारी जा के समझे कि उनका चलाने का काम है। उनको खाली सलाह देने की इजाज़त है, सहायता करने की, सलाह देने की। क्योंकि हम सारे देश का रंग बदलना चाहते हैं। अभी तक हम पूरे तौर से निकले नहीं हैं पुराने अंग्रेज़ी ज़माने से, निकले नहीं। अंग्रेज़ी ज़माना तो बिल्कुल अफ़सरी ज़माना था। होता हो, बहुत कुछ तो कम हुआ लेकिन अभी तक अफ़सरी ज़माना कुछ जारी है। वो एक हवा दूसरी होती है, हमारे अफ़सर अच्छे हैं। अफ़सरी से मेरा कोई मतलब यह नहीं कि अफ़सर बुरे होते हैं। लेकिन अफ़सरी ज़माना के मेरे माने हैं कि अफ़सर किया करें, या उनको देखा जाय वो ही करें और लोग अपने हाथ में लगाम न लें। हम चाहते हैं जनता के हाथ में लगाम है हो सकता है कि मूर्खता से जनता हानि पहुँचाये। हो सकता है लगाम ले कर घोड़े-गाड़ी को खड्डे में फेंक दे, हो सकता

है वो भी अच्छा है, खड्ड में गिर के सीखेंगे कि अब दूसरी दफ़ा ठीक तौर से गाड़ी चलायें। तो इस तरह से हमें आदमियों को बनाना है। तीस कोटि आदमी जो देश में रहते हैं, गाँव में, उनको हमें उठाना है, तब भारत उठेगा। दिल्ली के उठने से भारत नहीं उठता न बड़े-बड़े अफ़सरों से उठ जायेगा। इसलिए मैं इस पंचायती, पंचायती प्रबन्ध को बहुत आवश्यक समझता हूँ और मुझे बहुत खुशी है कि राजस्थान में यह बना, फैल रहा है। और उसमें याद रखो पहला काम, पहला काम तो इसका ज़मीन का खेती वगैरह के तरक्की करना, लेकिन उसके साथ उसका काम है कि अपने इलाके में लोग छोटे छोटे उद्योग-धंधे शुरू करें। ग्राम-उद्योग या छोटी-छोटी मशीन लगायें। एक किसान नहीं ला सकता, पंचायत ला सकती है, सहकारी संघ ला सकते हैं सौ आदमी मिल के ला सकते हैं। उसमें आपके बच्चों को काम मिलेगा, आपकी आमदनी बढ़ेगी, धन-दौलत।

धन-दौलत क्या होता है? कभी आपने विचार किया? आप देखें कि एक साहूकार को। वह धनी आदमी है, धन उनके पास कहाँ से आया? उनके पास धन आया एक तरह से औरों की जेबों से, उनका पैदा किया हुआ धन नहीं अपने हाथ-पैर चला के। उनको सूद से मिला या जो कुछ है। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि वो कोई बहुत बुरी बात है, लेकिन उनके परिश्रम का धन नहीं है वो। वो नया धन नहीं है, किसी और का पैदा किया हुआ धन उनके पास आया। तो देश में नया धन नहीं हुआ। एक की जेब से दूसरे के जेब में गया। लेकिन अगर कोई किसान ज़मीन से कुछ पैदा करता है, तो नया धन है वह किसी और की जेब का धन नहीं है हम उसके लिए और देश के लिए नयी नयी चीज़ पैदा हुई। एक कारख़ाने में कोई चीज़ पैदा होती है, उद्योग धंधे से, तो नया धन है। लुहार बनाता है, नया धन है। जो चीज़ नयी बने वो नयी चीज़ है नया धन है, किसी और की जेब से नहीं निकली है। इसीलिए वो सिलसिले, पुराने सिलसिले, ज़मींदारी प्रथा हमें पसंद नहीं थी क्योंकि वो भी नया धन नहीं पैदा होता था। एक जेब से दूसरे जेब में जाने के लिए। आप इसको आजमा सकते हैं कि आमतौर से नया धन क्या होता है? और ये हेरा-फेरी क्या होती है? तो इसलिए, आपके उद्योग धंधे हमें करने हैं और आपकी पंचायत समिति या सहकारी संघ ज्यों ज्यों काम सीखेंगे उनके पास शक्ति आयेगी, उद्योग धंधे शुरू करने की। बहुत बातें आप कर सकते हैं जिससे आपका लाभ हो, जिसमें अधिक खर्च न हो, और फ़ौरन आप को लाभ हो।

अब ये तो एक पहलू है, जो मैंने आपको बताया। खेती के बारे में, पंचायत, पंचायत समिति और सहकारी संघ। इसके पीछे याद रखो, इन सब बातों के पीछे मैं कहता हूँ एक बड़ी बात है कि हम अपने देश को एक समझें। हमारे देश में अनेक धर्म हैं, अनेक जातियाँ हैं, अनेक भाषाएँ हैं, जिसने हमारे देश को दुर्बल कर दिया, कमज़ोर कर दिया। अनेक भाषाएँ हैं। ठीक है, कोई हिन्दी बोले, कोई बंगाली बोले, गुजराती बोले, अच्छा है, उसमें कौन सी बुराई है, राजधानी में आप बोलें। लेकिन आपको हमेशा याद रखना है कि हमारा देश एक है और सारा देश मिलकर बढ़ेगा तो हम भी जायेंगे और नहीं बढ़ता तो हम भी रह जायेंगे। हम सब लोग चालीस करोड़ आदमी एक नौका पर हैं। या तो उस पार वो पहुँचती है तो सब पहुँचते हैं और गोता खा जाती है तो सब गोता खा जाते हैं। इसलिए एकता आवश्यकता है और हमारे देश में जो अनेक धर्म के लोग रहते हैं, हिन्दू अधिकतर हैं, मुसलमान हैं, फ़ारसी हैं, सिक्ख हैं, बौद्ध हैं, और इत्ते धर्म हमारे यहाँ

हैं, ईसाई हैं बहुत सारे पुराने, वो सब हमारे देश के धर्म हैं। उन सबों को बराबर का अधिकार है क्योंकि यहाँ धर्म के नाम से लोगों को झगड़ा करने वाले बहुत होते हैं। अंग्रेजी हुकूमत के ज़माने में भी धर्म के नाम से बहुत झगड़ा हमारे यहाँ कराते थे, हमें दुर्बल बनाने को, बनाने के लिए। तो हमें यह समझ लेना है कि जो भारत के रहने वाले हैं, वो सब एक परिवार हैं।

अच्छा, मैंने आपसे खेती वगैरह के बारे में कहा, लेकिन उसका दूसरा चित्र है। हमारे देश में बड़े-बड़े कारखाने बन रहे हैं यहाँ, बड़े लोहे के कारखाने, देखो जा के कि इस पिछले पाँच वर्ष में बने हैं, पाँच बड़े-बड़े नगर बन गये हैं और बड़े-बड़े कारखाने जिसको देख के भी आपको आश्चर्य हो। क्यों? नया भारत बन रहा है। वो नये भारत का एक नमूना है, चित्र है, उन लोहे के कारखानों से लोहा निकलता है और आप जानते हैं आजकल के ज़माने में लोहा, सबसे आवश्यक चीज़ है। सोना चाँदी देश में न हो तो कोई किसी को हानि नहीं होगी। लेकिन लोहा न हो देश चल नहीं सकता। सोना तो एक आभूषण है देखने-दिखाने को। लेकिन आजकल की दुनिया लोहे से चलती है, सब चीज़, आपका हल तक में लोहा न हो तो हल ठीक अच्छा न बने। और आपकी रेलगाड़ी आपके लोहे की बनती है, मकान में भी लोहा लगता है, चारों तरफ़ तो बड़े लोहे के कारखाने बने हैं। उधर देखो बड़ी-बड़ी नदियों की योजनाएँ। ये चम्बल नदी की भी एक योजना है, थोड़े दिनों में पूरी हो जाएगी, जिससे नहर निकलती है, जिससे बिजली पैदा होती है और बिजली की शक्ति से कलें चलती हैं। ये सब बातें देश भर में हो रही हैं। नयी शक्ति बिजली की, जिससे काम हो, लोहा और कितनी और चीज़ें जिसकी आवश्यकता आपको औरों को है और जिससे रोज़गार बढ़ता है। तो इस तरह से हमारा देश बढ़ेगा। एक तरफ़ से खेती करके और सहकारी समितियाँ और सहकारी संघ और दूसरी तरफ़ से बड़े-बड़े कारखाने और बीच में बहुत सारे लाखों करोड़ों छोटे कारखाने होने चाहिए। छोटे कारखाने चाहे चार आदमी काम करें, चाहे पाँच करें, चाहे एक ही दो करें, ग्रामोद्योग हो या दस-पन्द्रह करें, सारा देश एक-एक गाँव में। क्योंकि आपके गाँव की उन्नति जब ही होगी जब कि खेती भी वहाँ हो और छोटे-मोटे कारखाने भी हों, तब हो।

अब कारखाने चलाने के लिए एक चीज़ से बड़ी सहायता मिलती है वो बिजली है। बिजली क्या है? बिजली एक शक्ति है हमेशा से लोग देखते आये हैं, बादलों का गरजना और बिजली का चमकना। लेकिन उनसे लाभ नहीं उठाया, फिर कुछ लोग आये, उन्होंने सोचा यह बिजली क्या है? तो बहुत जाँच-पड़ताल करके उन्होंने देखा यह तो एक शक्ति है और शक्ति को पैदा कर सकते हैं वो। एक रगड़ के कुछ पथरों को, सामान को, तो करते-करते बिजली पैदा करते हैं आप जानते हैं। और बिजली को तारों से भेजते हैं और उस तार से ख़ैर रोशनी होती है इस तार से कारखाने चलते हैं। तो बड़ी शक्ति हो गयी। हम तो चाहते हैं कि एक-एक गाँव में बिजली आये और उससे छोटे-बड़े कारखाने चलें। उससे आपका काम बहुत अच्छा होगा। यह सब मैं आपको बता रहा हूँ कि कितने बड़े-बड़े काम देश में करने हैं। मुझे नहीं करने हैं। हम सबों को करने हैं और आप सबको करने हैं। और इसलिए सबको करना यह आवश्यक है कि हम काम करने का तरीका सीखें। तरीका सीखें जाके, पहले स्कूल कॉलेज में विशेषकर जहाँ सिखाया जाता है ये बड़े-बड़े काम यहाँ हो रहे हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप सोचो आजकल जो भारत में आप जीवित हैं। आजकल जो इस देश में हम सब रहते हैं कैसे समय रहते हैं? जब हमारे देश

में यह बड़ी-बड़ी क्रांति हो रही हैं, करोड़ों आदमी बदल रहे हैं, भारत आगे बढ़ रहा है फिर से सैकड़ों वर्ष बाद। कैसा अनोखा समय है। बाद में इतिहास लिखा जायेगा तो आज के भारत के समय का विशेष उसमें उसकी चर्चा होगी और लोग कहेंगे कि उस समय के, कि यहाँ इस समय जो भारत में लोग रहते थे, कैसे उनके भाग्य अच्छे थे, कैसे बड़े समय पर रहे?

तो बस अब मैं जाता हूँ आपके चम्बल नदी के पुल को देखने और चम्बल नदी का पुल आपको मुबारक हो और वो एक निशानी हो, चिन्ह हो सब इस इलाके की उन्नति और तरक्की का। जय हिन्द।

ज़रा मेरे साथ, ठहरो, मेरे साथ आप ठहरो, ज़रा मिल के, अरे चुप रहो, मेरे साथ सब मिल के तीन बार जय हिन्द कहो। जय हिन्द ज़ोर से कहो, इधर की आवाज़ नहीं आयी, जय हिन्द! फिर से जय हिन्द! फिर से जय हिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Sisters and brothers,

Now that the other activities are over, it is our turn. I would like to share some of my thoughts with you. Great tasks are waiting to be done and I want to explain what is happening all over the world. I came here to see a bridge and will go there shortly.⁷ Just now you heard from Raj Bahadur ji⁸ how many bridges have been built in the country and how many more are to come up. Bridges are certainly very good things and people benefit from them. But I have other kinds of bridges in mind which need to be built in this country, not merely over rivers and streams.

We have to build bridges between hearts so that people live in amity and cooperation and serve the country. But the biggest bridge that needs to be built is to cross the great gulf of poverty and to become prosperous. Who can build such a bridge for the forty crores of people to walk upon except themselves? Others may help a little but it is the people who will have to help themselves. We have to cross this bridge to alleviate the miseries of the people, remove poverty and bring some happiness into their lives. We need to provide opportunities for education, food, clothes, and houses to live in for our children and some productive employment when they grow up. So you can imagine what a huge task it is, involving forty crores of people in the country. It cannot be done by a handful of people. Each one of us individually may not possess

7. See fn 2 in this section.

8. See fn 3 in this section.

much strength, but if all of us work together it can become a great organized strength and big things can be achieved. So this great task will be possible only when we understand its magnitude and cooperate to complete it.

You may or may not have heard of the Planning Commission in Delhi which draws up plans for the whole country. The First Five Year Plan has been completed and the Second is being implemented. Now we are thinking about the Third one. All this aims at building a bridge to cross the mire of poverty and to take the people towards prosperity and plenty. When we take up big tasks, the burden is bound to be heavy. No big task can be done without hard work and sacrifice. We fought for our freedom for years under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi who was a great man. But, however great a leader may be, he cannot do anything by himself. A leader can put spirit into his followers, but ultimately the burden falls on the people.

During the freedom struggle, millions of people went to jail, innumerable people were killed and countless homes were broken up. All that has become a part of India's history now like the many tales of heroism that we hear about Rajasthan. We fought the war for freedom peacefully and non-violently and held up a new example to the whole world. It taught us a great lesson of cooperation, and our strength grew. There are people belonging to various religions and cultures all over the country which stretches from the Himalayas in the north to Kanya Kumari in the South. There used to be many small kingdoms in Rajasthan in the olden days. Now together they form the state of Rajasthan.⁹ But that is only a part of India. You have Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab and further afield, Bengal, Assam, Bombay, Assam, Madras, Mysore, etc. All of them together form this great country of ours. It is only by the combined strength of the people that we got freedom.

Now our problems were by no means over with the coming of freedom. It merely cleared our path and an obstacle was removed by the ending of British rule in India. But our main problem, that of poverty, still remains. We have only been given the opportunity to uplift the country after centuries of suppression. It is an extremely difficult task to pull ourselves out of the mire of poverty in which we have lived in for centuries. The people have become weak and illiterate and are unable to adopt new methods of working because they have not had an opportunity to do so. Now we have once again got an opportunity after the burden of centuries has been removed. So, it is essential to plan carefully as to how to go about this task.

In the last ten years, we have been engaged in this task of planning for the progress of the entire nation. It is not a question of giving employment to a few

9. See fn 4 in this section.

people. Qualified young men can certainly aspire to government posts. But it is not a question of a few thousands but of forty crores of people. How can anyone give jobs to forty crores of people? This is what you must understand. If you look at the pattern of employment in the country, you will find that almost two thirds of the population is dependent upon land. So, the biggest problem is the uplift of those thirty-odd crores. India cannot progress merely by big cities like Bombay, Delhi or Calcutta extending still further.

This is about agriculture. On the other hand, there are other avenues of work by which a nation progresses, industries, small, big or medium, building of rail engines, aeroplanes and a thousand other things which are being used by people all over the world. The country which is self-sufficient in essential goods and machinery progresses very fast, its national wealth increases and the problem of unemployment gets solved. Moreover, the wealth of the nation remains intact. So, on the one hand, we must increase agricultural production, and on the other, industrialize the country by starting heavy industries as well as small and medium industries in the country. The problem of unemployment will automatically be solved.

I do not know how many of you visited the agricultural exhibition that was held recently in Delhi.¹⁰ Those of you, who visited it, please raise your hands. All right, all right. It was a very large exhibition. I do not know what you learnt from it. You must have observed the various new techniques of agriculture being adopted in the world and now in India too. By new techniques I do not mean huge tractors or other large machines, though they are also being used in some places. I mean the small machines and tools which are useful in villages. They enable work to be done faster, production increases and the load becomes lighter. Farmers in many places continue to use outdated ploughs and other implements. The world has changed but not India. Their ploughs hardly manage to scratch the surface of the earth and do not dig deep at all. Nowadays, you can get very good ploughs for about sixty-seventy rupees which plough the land very well and, consequently, increase production immediately. The price of the new plough can be made up in no time at all. Then, there are several other small things in agriculture which will help to increase production immediately. I do not know what the average production per acre is in this area, but the national average is, I think, about ten maunds per acre whereas in other countries you will find that the average is about thirty-forty maunds per acre. How is it that they are able to produce so much? Even in our own country, many of the prize-winning farmers have managed to produce as much as fifty

10. See fn 5 in this section.

maunds per acre. Just imagine the difference between ten maunds and fifty. I agree that their land is fertile and they have looked after it very carefully. But the difference is too much. We can at least try to raise the average to twenty maunds which will immediately double the production in the country; the wealth of the nation will be doubled and we can progress very rapidly.

The situation in the country today is that failure of monsoons immediately throws our economy out of gear. That is not proper. We must be fully prepared for all contingencies and there must be a surplus. It can be done if we go about it in the right way. Therefore, it has become very essential to understand and adopt the new techniques of agriculture. It is not very complex. We must ensure that modern ploughs, good seeds, fertilizers, etc., are used. Then, there should be proper arrangements for irrigation and maximum utilization of these facilities. These are some of the things which every farmer knows about. There is another thing. We must protect the foodgrains from pests and insects which destroy them. If all these measures are taken, we can increase production in no time at all. You will find that in other countries the farmers produce an enormous amount from land. If you visited the exhibition at Delhi, you would have seen how much our better farmers are producing here itself.

So, our first priority is to increase agricultural production so that the farmers as well as the nation may benefit. There is no magic formula for all this, nor can it be done by chanting mantras or counting beads. A country can progress only by hard work and intelligence. Since the tasks before us are gigantic ones, the greater the cooperation between the people, the more the people will benefit. Therefore, as you must have heard, we are laying great emphasis on cooperative societies. We want that there should be a cooperative society in each village so that the tasks of the village may be done by mutual cooperation and help. Some people try to deceive the villagers that their land will be taken away. That is not true. The title of the farmer to his land will remain intact; nobody has the power to take that away. But there are many things which an individual farmer may not be able to do which become easy if a number of them get together. Everyone will benefit by this. The farmers will be able to buy new implements and fertilizers, etc.; I have even seen cooperative societies getting tube wells to irrigate the land. The land which lies fallow can be brought under cultivation within a few months at very little cost by providing irrigation facilities and treatment of the soil. Let me tell you another small thing. This is autumn, when leaves fall, and stupidly, we burn them. You can easily make excellent manure out of it. In fact, there is no better fertilizer than green leaf manure.¹¹ This is

11. See fn 6 in this section.

such a small matter and yet it is usually wasted. There are various small things like this which can be used to great advantage and transform the entire pattern of agriculture. I am very happy about something that has happened in Rajasthan and that is the formation of the panchayat samiti and the zila parishad. This is what we plan for the entire country. But it was implemented first in Rajasthan, last year, and then in Andhra Pradesh. Now the other States are following suit. This is a very far-sighted plan and I feel that it will be a bridge between the gulf of poverty that separates the people from prosperity and plenty. Whenever somebody comes to me from Rajasthan, I ask them about the progress of the panchayat samitis. So far the reports have been good. I think it is a revolutionary happening. You may ask, why! Well, I have talked about the various things we have to do, like building a bridge, etc., but, ultimately, the real test of a nation lies in the kind of people who live in it. Mere numbers do not count. The yardstick is how hard-working, intelligent and strong the people are. Even ten strong intelligent human beings are better than a hundred, because they can do better work than weak, useless people in large numbers. Therefore, the progress of a nation depends on training people to be hard-working, cooperative, intelligent, self-confident and fearless. So, the problem before us has been to train the people, to make them fearless and capable of understanding the modern world, the latest scientific and technological developments that have taken place in the world. There is no magic in all this. You travel by train, but there is no magic about it. If you send your child to school and college, he can become an engineer who can make rail engines. Anybody can learn about these things. There is no secret about it. I came here today by aeroplane. But any of you can make aeroplanes if they are trained for a few years. So, all these things are possible by hard work, there is no magic in it.

So, we have to uplift the people of India. When a country is under foreign domination for a long time, the people become weak and lose their vitality, their backs are bent and the spirit to achieve things is lost. Mahatma Gandhi infused a new life into the country and a great revolution took place. The country was shaken to its very foundations because there is great hidden strength among the people. It requires careful handling. If we could throw out the British, we certainly possess the strength to transform the country and remove its poverty. But it requires hard work. Slogans will not help.

So, as I was telling you, the real thing is to train human beings because it is they who do things. We want that all the children in India should go to school, not because we want them to look for white-collared jobs but because we want them to have the opportunity of learning something useful and to participate in the great tasks of the country. Education opens the doors to progress. I do not want them to become clerks. I want that after education

they should go and work on the land and improve it, by adopting modern techniques of agriculture. I do not like the idea of people going to the cities in search of employment. We must try to improve the land.

What is the idea behind the panchayat samitis? Apart from the fact that we want the work to progress, the main idea is to train human beings. The men and women of this country must acquire self-confidence and the strength to stand on their own feet instead of running to ministers and government officials with their demands. People who indulge in self-pity can net nowhere. It is the people who are capable of working hard that take the country forward. Now new responsibilities have been given through the panchayat samitis to you. Wider financial powers have also been given. So, now the burden of getting the work done falls upon the people. They will have to work instead of running to others with their demands. This is a test of their ability and also the only way in which the people can grow. Those who hold responsibilities learn to be self-reliant. It is dependence on others which saps self-reliance.

So, the principle behind the panchayat samitis is to devolve more responsibility on the people to make them self-reliant and capable of helping themselves. The officers and ministers can certainly help them, but we do not want the government officials to take over the institutions like the panchayat samitis or the cooperative societies. They will be permitted only to give advice and help. We want to change the complexion of the bureaucracy. We have not yet got out of the old ways. During the days of the British government, the bureaucracy was all powerful. We want to change that. I do not say that our officers are bad. But I do not want the people to rely on them to do everything for them as in the olden days. We want the people to hold the reins of responsibility. It is possible that in their ignorance, they may make mistakes or do harm. Even that is better because they will learn from their mistakes and do better next time. This is how we shall have to train the thirty crores of Indians who live in the rural areas if India is to progress. India's progress does not depend on the progress of Delhi or the officialdom.

Therefore, I consider this new arrangement for the panchayats very essential and I am glad that it has been implemented in Rajasthan. Please remember that the first task is to improve agricultural production, but at the same time, we must start small industries, cottage industries, with small machines. An individual farmer cannot do it. But the panchayat or the cooperative society can easily do these things. It will ensure more employment to the people and the wealth in the rural areas will increase.

Have you ever considered what wealth means? A money-lender is a rich man but his wealth has been transferred from other people's pockets and not produced by his own effort. His wealth is not the result of his labours and it is

not new wealth. But what a farmer produces is new wealth. It has not been taken from someone else's pocket. A farmer produces new wealth for the nation. Similarly, the goods produced in an industry, a factory, cottage industries, etc., all constitute new wealth. This is why we were opposed to the old zamindari system because they lived off the labour of others. You can see for yourselves the difference between new wealth and the wealth that is transferred from one pocket to another. Therefore, the panchayat samitis and the cooperative societies must start new industries and what-not. Gradually they will acquire more strength to do the things. There are many things that you can do which will be beneficial and at the same time not very expensive.

Now this is one aspect of the Panchayat Samiti and cooperative society. But it is essential that we should first understand the country that we live in. There are various religions, castes, and languages in our country and often they have acted as divisive forces and weakened the country. What is the problem in people speaking Hindi, Bengali, Gujarati or Rajasthani? We must remember that India is one country and we must progress as one nation. If India does not progress nor can we. All forty crores of us are aboard on a single ship and we sink or sail together. Therefore, unity is extremely important.

People in India follow various religions. The majority of them are Hindus, but there are a large number of Muslims and Christians and others. All these religions belong to India and their followers have equal rights as citizens of this country. There are people who incite others in the name of communalism. This happened very often when the British were here, mainly with a view to weakening us. So, we must now understand that the people of India belong to one large family.

All right, I talked to you about agriculture. But the other side of the picture is the rapid industrialization that is taking place in India. We are putting up huge steel plants under the five year plan and large townships are coming up alongside. The size of these steel plants will stagger you. All these are symbols of a new India that is being built. As you know, steel is an extremely important commodity these days. We can do without gold and silver but not without steel. Gold is merely for ornamental purposes. But the world today depends on steel. Even an ordinary plough cannot be made without steel. You require steel to build rail engines or houses and anything else that you can think of. So we are putting up these huge steel plants.

Then there are large river valley projects coming up. The Chambal project will be completed in a few days and will supply water to the fields for irrigation and produce electricity. Electricity is very essential for running machines and industries. All these things are happening all over the country and steel and power and other essential items are being produced. This opens up new avenues

of employment also. This is how the country can grow and prosper, by improving agricultural production on the one hand and by putting up millions of small, big and medium industries all over the country. We must have small-scale industries in every village in India because the progress of the rural areas depends on both agriculture and small industries.

Electricity is very essential to run these industries. Electricity is a source of power. People have seen and observed it as lightning in the sky for as long as you can remember. But no one took advantage of the potential, until an individual discovered that it could be a great source of energy and also that it can be produced by friction. With this discovery, electricity has been produced and transmitted through wires. It is used for illumination as well as to run industries. We want that there should be a supply of electricity to every single village so that industries can be set up.

I am telling you all this because it is you who have to take on the responsibility for all these tasks. Therefore it is essential to learn and to be trained to do them. You must realize the dynamic, revolutionary times that you are living in, when the lives of millions of people are being transformed. India is on the move once again after hundreds of years. These are extraordinary times and will be recorded in history as such and it will be commented upon as to how fortunate we were to have been alive at such a time.

All right, now I shall go on to see the Chambal Bridge. I congratulate you on it for it should be a symbol of progress and prosperity for this entire area.

Jai Hind. Wait, wait. Please say Jai Hind with me thrice. Once again, I can't hear you. Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!

[Translation ends]

(b) Press Conference

2. Press Conference¹²

Prime Minister: Shall we begin?

Question: What about the Geneva Disarmament talks?

12. Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi, 16 March 1960. AIR tapes, NMML. Also available in File No. 43(73)/60-PMS.

Prime Minister: What do you expect me to say about the Geneva Disarmament talks?¹³

Question: Your forthcoming trip to Europe?

Prime Minister: I can straightaway answer that I am going to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference.¹⁴

Question: What countries would you be visiting?

Prime Minister: So far as I know, no other country. I have no present intention of going to any other country.

Question: What is your view about the Supreme Court's decision on Berubari?

Prime Minister: We asked the advice of the Supreme Court and they have given it.¹⁵ We shall follow it. What more?

Question: When will the amendment of the Constitution come about?

Prime Minister: That I cannot say. We should like to read the full judgment.

13. The conference of the ten-nation (the USA, UK, France, Italy, Canada, USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Bulgaria) Disarmament Committee opened on 15 March 1960 in Geneva, chaired by Luis Padilla Nervo, the Foreign Minister of Mexico and chairman of the UN Disarmament Commission. The Committee was to consider comprehensive disarmament proposals, both nuclear and conventional, by the western nations and the Soviet Union.
14. The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, ninth since the Second World War, was held in London from 3 to 13 May 1960. See SWJN/SS/60.
15. On 14 March 1960, a special bench of the Supreme Court gave its opinion that the agreement of 10 September 1958, also known as the Nehru-Noon Agreement, regarding the transfer of a part of the Berubari Union and exchange of the Cooch-Bihar enclaves, amounted to cession of a part of Indian territory to Pakistan, and that Parliament was not competent to pass laws to implement the agreement under Article 3 of the Constitution. The agreement necessitated, the Court held, an amendment of the Constitution under Article 368. The matter had been referred for opinion to the Supreme Court by the President under Article 143 (i) of the Constitution. See *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 15 March 1960.

[BERUBARI]

No Break Through



The Supreme Court has held that the transfer of Berubari to Pakistan will violate article 3 of the Constitution

[From right: G.B. Pant and Nehru]

(From *Shankar's Weekly*, 20 March 1960, p. 7)

Question: Now the Nanavati case.

Prime Minister: I made a statement in Parliament.¹⁶ What more do you want me to say?

A correspondent: Also the Karnal Murder case.¹⁷

Prime Minister: Why not join a few other dacoities?

Question: You said in Parliament that this action was only to cover the brief period till the application for leave to appeal is disposed of, whereas the Governor's order is till the appeal is disposed of by the Supreme Court.¹⁸

16. This refers to his statement in the Lok Sabha on 14 and 16 March 1960 on the trial of Commander Nanavati. See items 121 and 126.

17. For the Karnal murder case, see previous volumes starting with Vol. 39.

18. In Commander Nanavati's case.

Prime Minister: You are perfectly right in pointing out that distinction. That was, what I have said, our idea and what I had suggested to the Chief Minister and I had not seen the order of course. But nevertheless it is meant till then only, till it is (application for leave to appeal) disposed of. There has been a slight misunderstanding about some words. It is a very small thing in writing. You may have it in two ways—till the disposal of the application for leave for appeal or till the disposal of the appeal. Just two or three words that caused some misunderstanding.

Question: What is the intention as the leave to appeal has been dismissed by the High court?

Prime Minister: The intention was till this is finally disposed of presumably, I do not know. They go to the Supreme Court for leave to appeal and the matter finally is disposed of this way or that way.

Question: Was it to cover the period till the appeal is disposed of in the Supreme Court?

Prime Minister: That is just what I have said. There has been, well, a slight misunderstanding; call it what you like. Certainly the suggestion made by me was till the disposal of the application either by the Bombay High Court or the Supreme Court, not till the disposal of the appeal. But the law officers of the Bombay Government, who must have drafted this, must have preferred some other wording. But that is not the intention. I have no doubt that what is really meant is till the disposal of the application.

Question: Who were the representatives of Commander Nanavati who approached in this matter? It is certainly not his relatives.

Prime Minister: Who said they were his relatives?

Question: It appeared in the Press that the representatives were not his relatives.

Prime Minister: For once the Press is right.

If you want to know, it was the Chief of Staff of the Navy¹⁹ who came to see me and he told me that Commander Nanavati had sent an application, a

19. Vice Admiral R. D. Katari.

representation to the Flag Officer of the Indian Navy in Bombay making this request. The Flag Officer thereafter had approached the Bombay Government. The Bombay Government had said—I do not know exactly what they said—but they said: better consult the Central Government, something like that, refer to them informally of course. And then this matter came up, that is the Flag Officer of the Indian Navy there had referred it to the Chief of Staff of the Navy here, who thereafter came to see me.

Question: You must have seen the countrywide criticism of your action. Would you tell us what led you to intervene like this rather than Shri Mahavir Tyagi's²⁰ suggestion that those rules could have been suspended or amended? That would have been a better course.

Prime Minister: I can hardly discuss that. Maybe some other course might have been a better course. This seemed to me a relatively simple case and not involving any disrespect to the High Court.

Question: Why has the Government of India taken such a particular interest in this case right from the beginning, starting from the proceedings in the trial court up till now? It is indicated by the fact that he has been paid advance money and the Naval Officer had applied for naval custody even at that stage. Why have you taken this extraordinary interest in this case?

Prime Minister: I do not know why you have brought [in] the Government of India. If you mean our Naval Headquarters, I suppose it is quite natural for them to take interest in one of their senior colleagues getting into trouble. I do not know. I have not enquired from them. I am merely guessing.

Question: The Government of India sanctioned that amount....

Prime Minister: Some amount has been sanctioned for defence.

Question: Rs. 10,000 have been given to him for defence.

Prime Minister: I do not know the sum but it is usual. I will tell you. Commander Nanavati applied, I am speaking from memory, that Government should meet the costs of his defence as often Government does, when its people are involved. The reply to that was Government cannot meet the costs of defence in a case

20. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Dehra Dun, Uttar Pradesh.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

like this. It has been a different type of case, a personal kind of case, but I don't know the sum given. I did say we can give a little help because he is not in a position to engage lawyers, etc., not in a financial position. I mean we can give some help so that he may have proper defence but we cannot undertake the liability of defence which is far greater of course.

Question: It is open to the Army also to keep the criminals within their rank in their own custody....

Prime Minister: An odd question, a hypothetical question. How can I answer it? It depends on circumstances. You must remember that Commander Nanavati was kept in Naval custody by an order of the court. That is, the court agreed to it, and he was in custody. It seemed to me nothing very extraordinary about this, for a brief period. I may be right or wrong. That is another matter.

Question: If a man goes to jail he will suffer....

Prime Minister: When the matter for appeal to the Supreme Court came up before them there was a gap.

Question: The actual judgment of the court was delivered on the 11th.

Prime Minister: I know. The indication of the judgment was available on the 10th.

Question: If you were to proceed on the basis of indication, the indication was available much earlier when the High Court did not call upon the Government pleader to reply to the defence?

Prime Minister: That I cannot say. I have not read the evidence or the long reports about this case at any time. I only know the broad features. I am afraid I am too busy to read these long reports. On the 10th night, one of the High Court Judges had given his full judgment, with a little bit left over. It was at that stage—because it was fairly clear what the decision was—at that stage they came.

Question: If the Governor was in his prerogative function in suspending the sentence, could he also determine the custody of the prisoner?

Prime Minister: No, it was a continuing custody. He cannot; that was a court

order. The point is, if a person can pass an order of suspension, etc., I suppose he can lay down the conditions of suspension also. I am not speaking as a lawyer, but it is less than what he can do. Surely, a person who can do something can do less than that. Anyhow, he was there in custody.

Question: You told us that the representatives of Nanavati approached you on behalf of a senior colleague. Do you think the Government will take the same course that they have taken in the case of Nanavati, to the case of an ordinary rating on trial for murder?

Prime Minister: I hope it should, but there are two or three things about that. First of all, life being what it is, I mean to say, probably this matter would not even have aroused much interest in your newspapers if there had been a poor rating, although he deserved exactly the same thing. Secondly, the same consequences would not have flowed in the case of the rating as are applied to officers, according to the Naval Rules, I mean. But I am merely pointing out some possible effects. I cannot know what will happen in any such hypothetical case.

Question: Is the apparent anxiety to retain Nanavati in service based on the fact that he has got some special training or qualification?

Prime Minister: I might tell you in confidence that I hardly know Commander Nanavati. That is to say, I met him as I met the senior officers of course. And I have had reports about him, about his work, reports favourable to him. He is considered to be one of our good officers. That is all. I have no personal, particular interest or tie with him. But I know that he is considered one of our very good officers in the Navy. He has been considered as such, and whatever the courts decide, he will have to submit to it. It is not a question of that. The question was, if there was an outside chance of a decision ultimately in his favour, well, then it might be worthwhile for him, during this period, not to go to prison. I may be completely mistaken. But it did not strike me at that time or when I consulted the Law Minister as something very unusual—unusual it was of course—and it was anything but wrong.

Question: There is a feeling that the Bombay Police had to investigate the case against heavy odds, pitted against the might of the Navy.

Prime Minister: Why?

Question: Because of the Naval Officers going in support of him and all that.

Prime Minister: I do not know how a Naval officer can go about in support of him in a court of law. How can they go about in support of him?

Question: In the trial court, every one of them present was displaying all his medals. That is the observation of the Public Prosecutor—if you would please read the proceedings, you will find it—that all the Naval Officers went in their uniforms and paraded about him.

Prime Minister: I have not read that. I do not know what I am to do about them. Should they take off their medals when they go there or not go there at all? The fact of the matter is, as I said, I have not read the proceedings. I could not help doing, when this case was being tried in Bombay. Originally, there was a tremendous excitement in Bombay, all over the public and everywhere.

I do not normally feel excited about such matters, and I was not excited. Also I did not read the reports except the headlines.

Question: But does not this action, suspending the operation of the sentence and continuing him in naval custody, cut at the very root of the principle of rule of law and its effect? Should not people, however highly placed in the Navy or in the Civil Service, be subjected to the civil law and the consequences thereof? Here it means that for Defence Forces you will have another type of law.

Prime Minister: There is such a thing as the Constitution of India.

Question: But for the fact that the Governor's order cannot be challenged according to the constitutional law....

Prime Minister: And the Constitution of India has provided the means by law to do something, and how you talk of the principle of law being affected, I really cannot understand. I do not wish, however, to argue. Opinions may differ, but it seems to me quite extraordinary, namely the statement that the rule of law is being challenged because it is under the Constitution that some step was taken. You may of course say that it was not wisely conceived, the step taken, but that is a different matter. But to talk about the rule of law in this connection when nothing has been done against the law seems to me rather completely far-fetched.

Question: If the Government would have done what they have done, after the judicial processes had been completed, even if they would have set him at liberty, nobody could have objected, but as it is, we are very much worried because it has come as an interlocutory order on the court and it is because of that that all this trouble has arisen.

Question: Did the Law Minister simply advise you that you were constitutionally correct in advising, say, the Governor of Bombay or did he also advise you that it would not be desirable?

Prime Minister: There is no question of "constitutionally correct or not". I was not issuing any directive or anything to the Governor. I spoke to the Chief Minister—the Governor came later—and asked him to consider this matter and told him that this was our view. It was for him to consider, to get in touch with the Governor. But I do not think it will be proper for me to bring in what advice the Law Minister gave me about this or that. No unconstitutionality struck us, because it was obvious to him and to me. We, having considered the matter in all its aspects, came to certain conclusions, that we should give a certain advice, and we did so. And there the matter ends, right or wrong.

Question: Did the Bombay Government....

Prime Minister: I cannot answer any more on this point—I am sorry. Take up something else.

Question: I take up the appropriations for agriculture in the Third Five Year Plan.

Prime Minister: It is a healthier subject anyway.

Question: There has been a controversy going on whether the appropriations should be Rs.600 or Rs.1000 crores.

Prime Minister: Rs. 600 crores or Rs.1000 crores? So far as I know, it is Rs.2000 crores.

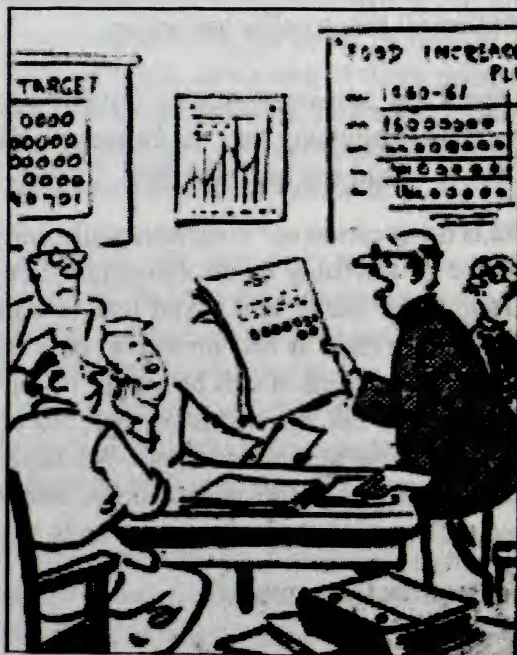
Question: I mean on agriculture proper.

Prime Minister: Agriculture proper? Directly or indirectly it is on agriculture and it is nearly Rs. 2000 crores because, after all, it is all agriculture, everything related to agriculture. A fertilizer factory is meant for agriculture. A part of the

[TARGET FLXING]

You Said It

By LAXMAN



So, here we have our target, gentlemen—the zeros are fixed, only we have to decide on a number now!

(From *The Times of India*, 15 March 1960, p. 1)

community development work is meant for agriculture. Our irrigation schemes are meant for agriculture. If we add all that, it comes to very nearly Rs. 2000 crores.

Question: It is not my objection. The Agriculture Ministry is taking objection to it, that the allocation....

Prime Minister: My dear friend, every Ministry is demanding as big a sum; naturally it is interested in one thing more, in doing more work, and the total of the figures demanded by all the Ministries if added up—I forgot the exact figure—comes to two or three times the figures that we can possibly find, of resources. I cannot give you an opinion about agriculture, by itself how much it should be. This is a matter for the Planning Commission and the Government to determine, carefully balancing various things.

Question: I raised this question in view of the fact that the previous Agriculture Minister had very harsh things to say about the Planning Commission. Now, if this appropriation is not granted, perhaps the Agriculture Ministry will explain away its failure by saying that it did not get the appropriation asked for.

Prime Minister: Do you expect me to enter into this argument? Well, you can take it from me that there is going to be no failure. Why are you failure-minded?

Question: What are your conclusions from the Suratgarh type of farms and how are these going to be embodied in the Third Five Year Plan?

Prime Minister: I do not know whether they are going to be included or not and, if so, in what form, etc. The Suratgarh Farm has been a success by normal standards.²¹ The Farm itself consists of about thirty thousand acres but actually only about thirteen thousand acres have been worked thus far and only about two or three thousand acres have been irrigated. That too not perennial—most of it. So we have only had partial experience, but that has been good. And as soon as more water comes there during the course of the next year or two, it will produce much more. We are thinking of having two or three such farms roundabout Suratgarh, because that is a very special place, in the sense that it is largely uninhabited. It used to be a sandy desert area and as soon as water comes, it will blossom out. And water is coming from various ways—Bhakra and Rajasthan Canals and all that. We want those few farms there for a number of purposes—to get very good seeds, first of all, which we can spread out all over India. Of course, we have seed farms all over, but we want to have this supply of good seeds there and some kind of foodgrain stocks produced there. This has nothing to do with our normal agricultural pattern which, as you know, is quite different and which is, roughly speaking, peasant proprietorship—broadly small holdings—and service cooperatives. That is our normal pattern but that has nothing to do here. This is some special development of a particular area which has not been developed previously a semi desert area—and where we could experiment in various ways and profit by these experiments and also produce a substantial quantity of foodgrains.

Question: Have you got any comments to offer with regard to the advice that the Soviet Premier gave to you that if a hundred such farms, like the

21. Nehru visited the Suratgarh Farm on 26 February 1960. See SWJN/SS/57/item 89.

one at Suratgarh, were formed, India would be able to solve her food problem?

Prime Minister: I have no recollection of the Soviet Premier saying that to me. In fact, I doubt if I discussed with him anything like that, except that he liked the Suratgarh Farm.²²

Question: The Soviet expert observed it at the Parliamentary Forum meeting at which you were present—in the Central Hall, about two months ago. At least the report was there in the “TASS” despatch that he made this observation.

Prime Minister: Are you sure I was present?

Question: Yes, Sir,

Prime Minister: But I can tell you that I am not at all sure about that. In fact, I do not think I was present there.

Question: It was a seminar on the status of agriculture and you had left at that time.

Prime Minister: So, it is obvious that I was not present.

Question: Have you any comments to offer on Mr Manzur Qadir's statement on Kashmir?²³

Prime Minister: No, none.

Question: Can we now go back to the Third Plan? Have you decided as to what your steel target is going to be and what are the factors....

22. Khrushchev visited the Suratgarh Farm on 13 February 1960 during the first leg of his visit to India from 11 to 16 February.
23. Speaking at a reception organised by the Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, Karachi, Pakistan's Foreign Minister Manzur Qadir said on 11 March 1960 that any solution of the Kashmir dispute must satisfy the interests of Pakistan, and the people of Kashmir and of India. The only solution which would safeguard all the interests was a fair and impartial plebiscite. “We cannot see any other solution, but that does not mean that if anybody has got another one, we will not listen to it. If somebody has it, he should suggest it”, he stated. See *Dawn*, Karachi, 12 March 1960.

Prime Minister: In financial terms?

Question: No, Sir, in terms of output of steel.

Prime Minister: Well, we have been thinking about steel for a number of years—for the last few years. At the end of the First Plan we thought of the Second Plan target being about six and a half million tons, and broadly we thought then of the Third Plan target being ten million tons or thereabouts. This was, of course, a rough approach. Broadly, these are our ideas with regard to steel. You see, the first step that we want to take now for the Third Plan is to enlarge our present iron and steel plants at Rourkela, Bhilai and Durgapur. That gives us some two or three million tons or, maybe two and a half million tons.

Once you enlarge a plant to its utmost capacity, well then that process of enlargement stops. You must have new plants which you can enlarge and we would like to begin new plants on a sufficiently wide foundation so they can be enlarged later. So, presumably, apart from the enlargement of the old plants,

[SECOND SHIPYARD AT COCHIN]

Scuttled?



The location of the second shipyard at Cochin, about which assurances had been given, is now said to be 'under consideration',—Report.

[From left : R. Sankar, P.T. Chacko, Pattom Thanu Pillai, P. Subbarayan, Gulzarilal Nanda, U.N. Dhebar, Morarji Desai, Nehru]

(From *Shankar's Weekly*, 20 March 1960, p. 17)

we shall begin new plants. If you begin them now, it will take four or five years before they are anywhere near production stage.

Question: Does it mean that there will be no expansion in the private sector?

Prime Minister: Wherever there can be expansion of the steel units in the private sector, there is no question of any objection to it. We will gladly welcome it but I don't know, I am merely saying it.

Question: Can I ask a question about the Cochin Shipyard? The Speaker accused the Government of having committed a breach of promises.²⁴ What is your opinion about it? Is the Government going to have this second shipyard in the Third Plan?

Prime Minister: Now, listen. First of all, really, I honestly cannot answer that question. I should like to enquire. But it is a question about which if I say one thing, I condemn my Government; if I say something else, I might be disrespectful to the Speaker. How can I answer such a question?

Question: In the allocation made for education, it was said that we are going to be able to achieve the revised target of providing schools for all children between the ages of six and eleven by 1965. There seems to be some apprehension that this target will not be reached.

Prime Minister: One is dissatisfied with almost every allocation because one wants to have more. I cannot say this about education. Naturally we should pay particular attention to it but there are so many other things. They are so tied up that one has to have a balanced growth.

Question: Do you believe that the Chinese have the atom bomb about which Dr. Raghu Vira mentioned in the Upper House?²⁵

24. On 15 and 18 March 1960. See *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XL, cols 5899-5909 and cols 6714-6717.

25. Dr Raghu Vira, Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Maharashtra, said this on 7 March during his intervention in the debate on the budget proposals. The relevant paragraph begins thus: "It will be a serious matter when Red China, red in tooth and claw—...." However the entire speech has been reproduced, see Appendix 16. He repeated his prediction on 18 March that China would explode her first atomic bomb on 28 March. See *National Herald*, 19 March 1960.

Prime Minister: Dr. Raghu Vira's special information is not at my disposal. How can I express any opinion? All I can say is, it is normally considered unlikely, very unlikely.²⁶

Question: Has any date been fixed for your meeting with Mr. Chou En-lai?

Prime Minister: Earlier I suggested round about the 20th of April and I have had no reply from him yet. We have had a provisional reply to say that a reply will come, but the actual reply about the date has not been received.²⁷

Question: You mentioned that there will be more than one steel plant. Could you indicate as to with whose collaboration they will be set up?

Prime Minister: I do not know. I said that there should be a beginning with new plant or plants whatever it may be, a sort of some beginning. It is not merely a question of the Third Plan but the basis for advance in the Fourth Plan will be effected if we do not go forward. Whether we start one or two depends on circumstances and various other factors.

Question: Do you propose to set up some kind of evaluation agency to conduct a sort of audit of our Plan fulfillment in the Second Plan. No progress report has been issued since the end of 1956?

Prime Minister: In 1956, must have been for the First Plan I suppose. Now we are in the third or fourth stage of the Second Plan. No doubt there will be an evaluation report but presumably at the end of the Plan or nearing the end.

Question: How are we to evaluate the progress of these annual plans? Great stress was laid by you earlier on the system of annual planning but annual planning now seems to be merely a summary of the budgets of the central and state Governments issued well into the year for which the Plan is supposed to be.

Prime Minister: What I think I stressed was I had criticised our own approach to it of evaluation because often the evaluation consisted of how much money has been spent on education, on this, on that, on roads. I said that was not

26. China conducted its first nuclear test on 16 October 1964 at Lop Nor in the Gobi desert of Xinjiang province in western China.

27. See items 200, 207 and 208.

adequate. What has actually been done, achieved not in terms of money but in terms of results should be evaluated. That we are trying to do, a kind of audit of achievement, not of audit of money spent. That is the approach I believe now.

Question: Who is going to make that audit or evaluation?

Prime Minister: To begin with, the Planning Commission is constantly evaluating. They have got four or five high level officers who are touring and making long reports of achievement. That is a continuous process. In addition to that, periodically they appoint presumably, some kind of independent committee outside their own ranks, to go and evaluate.

Question: Is there a suggestion that steel production should be so planned that the production in each sector is more or less the same?

Prime Minister: In each sector, meaning public and private? Not at the moment. In the year 1948 it was said that steel is in the public sector. It is by a lot of goodwill and grace that we have allowed it in the private sector to continue. The whole basis of thinking is that certain strategic industries are essentially in the public sector but we do not wish to interfere or come in the way of the private sector where it has been carrying on and we may allow it to do more. Machine-building, steel and a number of other things, defence industries and others are essentially public sector industries, because they are considered strategic and basic.

Question: In other words, beyond the maximum capacity of the existing plants in the private sector, nothing beyond that in the private sector?

Prime Minister: Well I do not wish to be rigid about an answer to that because our approach broadly always is a pragmatic approach, how to get things done and if we see there is some way of doing it effectively, quickly in which we might relax other things, we will relax.

Question: Does that mean modifying the Industrial Policy?

Prime Minister: No, I think there is room for some light variations here and there within the ambit of that Resolution.

Question: Since the Government has given big loans to private sector for

steel plants, has it tried to work out the cost at which this expansion has taken place and how it compares with the State sector?

Prime Minister: It is not very easy to know that. As a matter of fact, we are trying to do that and trying to find out, are going to find out what has happened in the course of the First and Second Five Year Plans in regard to this matter, cost, etc., because we are anxious, apart from other social considerations, to know, to compare the working of the private sector with the public sector in a particular industry. We want each one of them, well to push the other to perform better—I am putting it that way. We want an element of competition between the public and the private sectors. Let us see which does better and therefore, we want to find this out as far as we can.

Question: You said yours is not a pragmatic approach in this matter. Does it refer only to application for further expansion of the existing private units or even in respect of new plant, private units?

Prime Minister: When I say a new plant, say in steel it will not be, I presume, a completely private sector plant but it may be a plant in which there is, well some kind of combination or something. I do not know. I am merely guessing for the moment. It depends on the terms.

Question: Foreign combination or Indian?

Prime Minister: You are asking me questions in the air. We are not considering any such matter. As you cross-examine me on this subject, I just give out what is for the moment. It is not a scheme.

Question: An American Steel Mission was already here and there are some reports that they would prefer to give a steel plant in the private sector.

Prime Minister: I will tell you. I did meet them but the broad approach of ours was that we do not rule this out. It depends on the terms and conditions agreed upon between the parties.

Question: Was the proposition made that any new steel plant with American assistance should be in the private sector.

Prime Minister: No. Not to my knowledge.

Question: Coming to a more concrete subject, how do you propose to meet the strike of the State Bank of India employees since they have rejected the proposals.

Prime Minister: I suppose the Tribunal will sit presently and I hope they will come back.

Question: But the strike is assuming more dimensions. The Reserve Bank employees and the other bank employees are going to combine and this proposal is not likely to be accepted.²⁸

Prime Minister: I cannot say anything more than what I have said. The Tribunal will presumably start functioning and I hope they will agree to cooperate with it.

Question: Why was a tribunal preferred to the appointment of a Bank Commission?

Prime Minister: Well, in the balance, it was thought better: this is, after all, the constitutional way mentioned in our Constitution. That does not mean any other way like that of a commission is ruled out, but I think one of the difficulties was that the strike had already begun which led to the Tribunal. I may point out to you, apart from this particular strike or anything, that our broad approach to these labour matters and labour disputes is obviously one seeking to get the greatest measure of cooperation as possible, not of coming down with a heavy hand on this party or that party, because we are interested in work being done under good conditions and each party having a fair deal. So, we do not like the big club anywhere, whether in the shape of a lock-out or a strike and we want production to go on and healthy relations to be established ultimately with progressive labour participation in the management, etc. That is our broad policy, and therefore, for this purpose, there must be same way of resolving disputes that arise. Well, obviously the first approach is, call it what you like,

28. The All India State Bank Employees' Federation led a strike of SBI employees from 4 March 1960 for better pay and service conditions. Gulzarilal Nanda, the Union Labour Minister, informed the Lok Sabha on 11 March 1960 that a national tribunal would be set up under the Industrial Disputes Act to deal with the disputes between employees and managements of all banks; on 21 March it was constituted under Justice Kantilal T. Desai of the Bombay High Court. See *The Times of India*, 6, 9, & 12 March 1960, and *The Statesman*, 22 March 1960.

wage conciliation, mediation, all those methods, it may be arbitration, all those methods come in. A very good method is Wage Boards, so far as wages are concerned.

That is a method of arriving at a decision which should be acceptable and should prove satisfactory to all concerned. Fortunately, we have had a considerable measure of success in this in the past year or so but sometimes difficulties arise, as they have arisen, and one has to deal with them.

Question: Are you sure that action is taken sufficiently early on these points, because history shows that it is only when strikes are threatened that something happens?

Prime Minister: No, sometimes it is not. Sometimes there is a tendency to delay action which is unfortunate. When an occasion arises if it is dealt with fairly quickly, probably future trouble might be avoided.

Question: The present policy is to avoid references to industrial tribunals and to have voluntary arbitration. In the case of the bank employees, they were prepared to have arbitration because they thought that an industrial tribunal will prolong matters, things would go from one court to another. Their experience in the past was that three different decisions were arrived at because one court was unconstitutional as something had happened to that court, another tribunal had to be set up and so on. Why did not the Government, considering all those things that happened earlier, decide to have voluntary arbitration which is now the policy of the Labour Ministry?

Prime Minister: No, there is no change in the policy of the Labour Ministry. You used the word "arbitration" but I have not heard the word "arbitration" in this connection. I have not, of course, heard everything that has been said in this connection but they were talks of a commission which is not arbitration. We had to choose between a tribunal and a commission. I do not know what we would have chosen in the early stages but as things had developed thus far, in the balance we thought that a tribunal that is a constitutional way of doing it and that more or less, finalises things. We felt also that otherwise in a commission probably there might be references again to the Supreme Court, which would delay matters. The previous history of the bank dispute is both an example and a warning as to what not to do because the earlier one went on for a long time. As you said, something went wrong with the first tribunal; something went wrong with the second and so on. That, of course, is not likely to be repeated.

Question: Just now you commended the idea of rationalising of wages through the mechanism of wage boards. You said that it has worked successfully in important industries. Why then in the case of the bank dispute the same course was not adopted and you had to choose a different method?

Prime Minister: I have broadly told you that things happened and they had developed in such a way up to a stage that normal apparatus did not seem to us to be adequate for the purpose. I cannot discuss the whole matter but that was the general impression we gathered. May I also remind you that the bank employees, especially the employees of the Government banks are, I believe, the best paid in India comparatively, compared to similar employees. As regards amenities and salaries, they are fairly well-paid. Of course, the more the better but I am merely comparing them with others.

I do not say that in some cases, in some forms they do not deserve more. That I do not say but I am merely making a broad statement. The idea that because a bank has got plenty of money, other peoples' money it can dispose of it, is wrong really....

Question: Why should the banks alone be regarded as coming within the category of industry and not insurance companies and the Central Secretariat?

Prime Minister: I am sorry I do not know whether they are included or not. I have no idea. How can I answer that?

Question: In Parliament last week you said that the Chinese had occupied 12,000 square miles of Indian territory.²⁹ Does that include the area north of Aksai Chin Road?

Prime Minister: This is the figure which was said by me not last week only; but for the last six or seven months I have given the same figure and nothing new has happened in the last six or eight months or whatever the period might be. That is an estimate of ours including all these areas—Aksai Chin and other areas. It is just an estimate. It may be wrong by a thousand miles or whatever it may be, this way or that way. It is very difficult to be precise about these areas.

29. See items 202 and 204.

Question: The question was whether that includes the area north of the road.

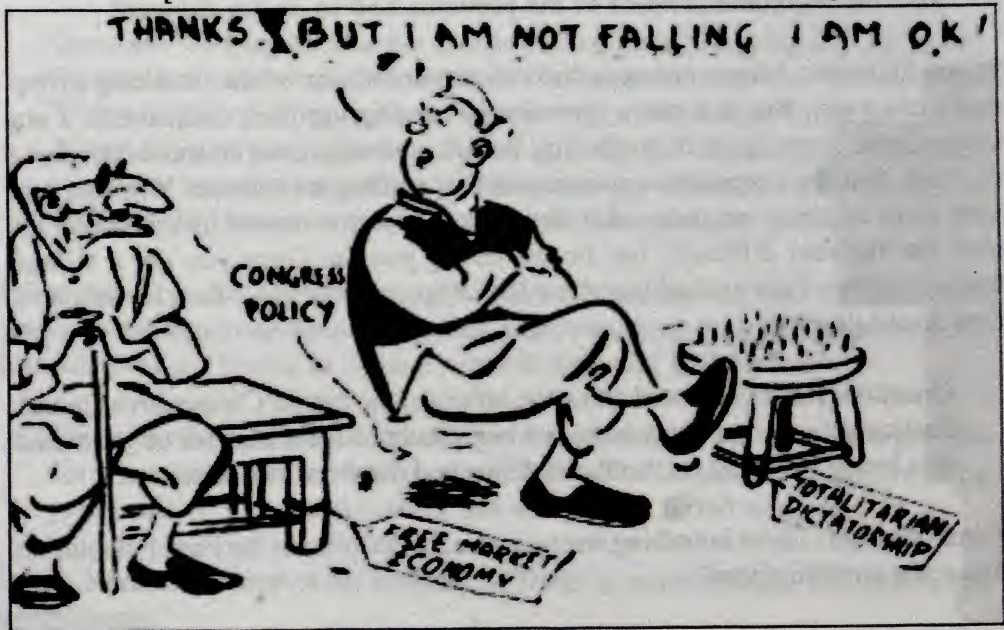
Prime Minister: Yes, certainly it includes that area.

Question: Is there any suggestion for an exclusive meeting between you and President Ayub during the Commonwealth Conference?

Prime Minister: Is there a suggestion, you ask? Why, I have seen the suggestion, made in some newspapers. That is all that I know.³⁰

Question: Would you like to comment on the latest statement of policy of the Swatantra Party?³¹

[BETWEEN THE DEVIL AND THE DEEP SEA]



(From *The Times of India*, 13 March 1960, p. 1)

30. Nehru and Ayub Khan met on 4 May 1960 in London at the Pakistan High Commissioner's residence, according to a report in *The Hindu*, 5 May 1960. See SWJN/SS/60.
31. The Swatantra Party, describing itself as "the party with a difference" issued a draft statement of policy on 8 March 1960 which was later adopted on 20 March at their Patna Convention. The disbanding of the Planning Commission and radical reform of the land revenue system were among the assurances proposed. See *The Hindu* and *The Times of India*, 9 March 1960.

Prime Minister: I am afraid it is beyond my mental reach. I thought even the conservatives of the world had outgrown, but obviously I was mistaken. Some people still believe in things which I think have no relevance today. That is all I can say about it. It is not becoming of me to start an argument about it at a Press Conference.

Question: Do you share the optimism of the working group on cooperative farming?

Prime Minister: Working group of the Planning Commission?

Question: Of the Ministry of Community Development on cooperative farming which has given its report just now. My question is, will the recommendations of this Working Group be implemented more vigorously than the recommendations of the previous bodies on the subject?

Prime Minister: I have not seen the recommendations of this working group and I can't say. But it is not a question of my sharing their enthusiasm. I am enthusiastic, even apart from sharing it with anybody, over cooperation, and I do think that the cooperative movement is spreading now faster. You see, it is very easy to show on paper that the cooperative movement is spreading all over but the real difficulty has been training people. Once you get a village trained cadre—I am not talking about Government officials—then it starts on a firm foundation.

Question: Have you heard about the affairs of the Indian Cooperative Union? Particularly, its accounts have not been audited for a number of years and it is being financed by the Rockefeller and the Ford Foundations?

Prime Minister: There is nothing wrong in the Rockefeller or the Ford Foundation financing anything here?

Question: Cooperative movement also?

Prime Minister: I am against the cooperative movement relying even on Government grant—even our Government I mean—except temporarily it may be helped a little because the whole idea is self-reliance. I do not want Government officials to interfere but in some ways we do help, as a matter of fact, given them a push. I cannot answer your question unless I know more details or facts about it.

Question: May I refer to an article that has appeared in the *Times of India* last Tuesday in which it was said that some officials of the External Affairs Ministry were going about telling people that the Chinese argument about Ladakh and other areas also has to be appreciated? Is that true?

Prime Minister: You said "appreciated"?

Question: Something like that. I do not know the exact words but that was the substance.

Prime Minister: It is an extraordinary thing to state anywhere, even in a paper like the *Times of India* that officials of my Ministry go about saying this. On the face of it is fantastic. Our officials going about saying that—can you imagine it? How can that be?

Question: Coming back to the question on cooperatives, recently the Kerala Government has scrapped some of the cooperatives. For instance, the Toddy Tappers' Cooperatives which were functioning in Kerala were disbanded and they have been taken over by the contractors. A decision has been taken to that effect. If there are any mistakes, they should be rectified. But here is a throw-back on your cooperative policy.

Prime Minister: This is very complicated I cannot answer this. Anyhow, I do not know the details about cooperatives, what was being done in Kerala recently. It is no good my trying to answer without knowing the facts.

Question: Coming back to the old question on strikes, while labour is grateful for what your Government has done, the trouble is because of the spiralling prices which your Government has completely failed to arrest.

Prime Minister: There is an element of truth in your remark. The prices are troublesome.

Question: But you have done nothing about it.

Prime Minister: Don't say that. You may say that in spite of what has been done, this matter has not been properly controlled. I am not defending myself or my Government, but I should like you to compare it with other countries too. It is a general tendency everywhere. On the whole we have done rather well comparatively.

Question: Is the Dalai Lama leaving Mussoorie on his own will or it has been suggested by the Indian Government?

Prime Minister: It was suggested by us and accepted by him.³²

Question: May I ask a question on Indo-China; the situation in Laos? India is Chairman of the United Nations Commission on Indo-China. Elections in Laos have been announced by the end of April, but they have imposed a new electoral law. The leaders of Pathet Lao are in jail and military action is also being taken by the Laotian Government against them. Under these circumstances, what will India do, as Chairman of the Commission, to re-establish peace in that area?

Prime Minister: I am not quite sure whether it is correct to say that India is the Chairman of the Commission—perhaps technically it might be correct—because the Commission does not function at all. The Commission is in a suspended state not in Laos but somewhere else, and unless the Commission functions, obviously the Commission or India, the Chairman, can do nothing about it through the Commission. And it cannot function by coercive methods, saying that we will function. If it is accepted, given an opportunity to function, it will function. I am afraid the situation there is unfortunate and we are not at all happy about it. But we cannot interfere. We have no wish to interfere. Of course, our approach to these questions has always been to try formally or informally to bring about a proper cooperative working of the decisions of the Geneva Agreement.

Question: You must have seen Rajaji's statement that he was keeping peace between you and Sardar Patel.

Prime Minister: I hope he might try to keep the peace even now. It would be a good thing.

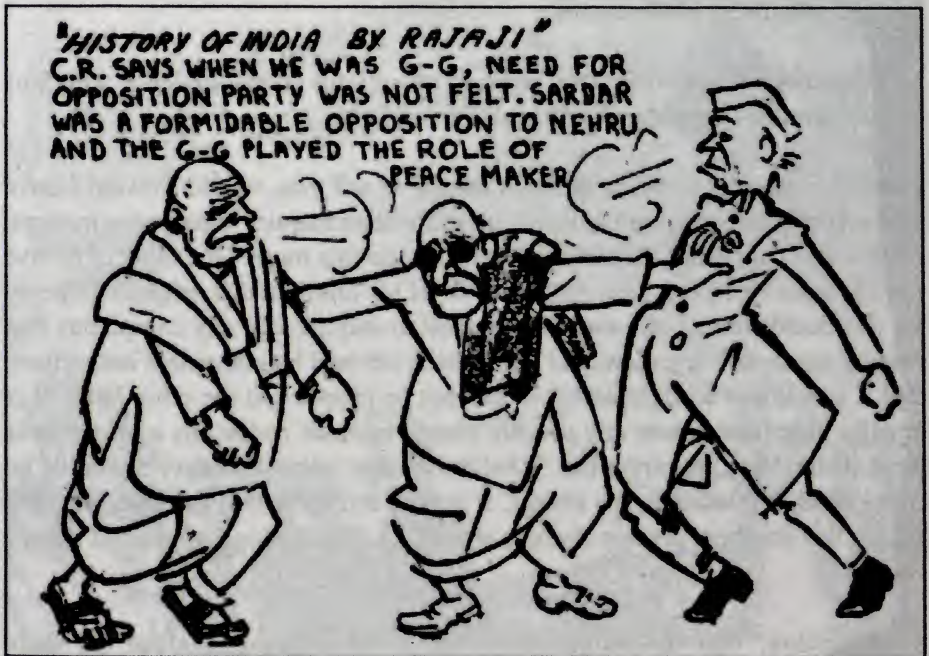
Question: In your talks with Chou En-lai, in connection with the border situation, if the Chinese Premier is insistent, will you take up the question of the basis on which the relations can be maintained between the countries to include a discussion on Tibet as well?

32. See item 216.

Prime Minister: I cannot tell you as to exactly what subjects I shall discuss with Premier Chou En-lai and what manner of approach will be made.

Question: Returning to my first question, was there any special reason for the Government of India to suggest to the Dalai Lama to move from Mussoorie?

[RAJAJI HOLDING BACK PATEL AND NEHRU]



[From left : Vallabhbhai Patel, C. Rajagopalachari, Nehru]
(From *Shankar's Weekly*, 13 March 1960, p. 12)

Prime Minister: There are many reasons. Mussoorie was originally selected as a relatively temporary place of abode. It was not a good place. It is a tourist centre. We did not have houses. We borrowed some houses from a private gentleman, at his great inconvenience. He was pushed out of the house with his family. The main thing is that Mussoorie was not a place for a permanent or semi-permanent residence for the Dalai Lama but only for temporary residence. Secondly, now we have to think in terms of at least semi-permanence for the

large number of refugees who have come from Tibet. We have to establish them somewhere where they can follow the dictates of their religion and indulge in such productive work as they can. One of the areas we found very suitable for this purpose was the Dharamsala area, climatically plus affording a great deal of accommodation. These are old British army barracks which are lying vacant now. They are convenient. We have already sent a large number of refugee Lamas there—we have to distinguish between the Lamas and non-Lamas. We thought it would be a good thing if the Dalai Lama was in touch with his own people helping them, instead of being rather isolated from his own people living at Mussoorie.

Question: What is the latest position about your correspondence with Shri Deshmukh³³ regarding a tribunal?³⁴

Prime Minister: It is rather difficult for me to tell you, to add to what I have said recently, because I am not quite clear about an enquiry about some matters. Before that happens, I should not like to discuss this more. One thing of course I made quite clear, that I am not in favour of Mr Deshmukh's original proposal for the establishment of a standing tribunal to enquire into any complaints that may be made. It is my view, and I have been advised by competent authorities, that it would not be right and it would not be proper. On the other hand, it is equally clear that where any serious charge is made and it has a prima facie base, it should be enquired into. What the method of enquiry may be should be considered in relation to the charge. It is between these two that the difficulty arises, that is where precise charges are not made but a kind of general charge is made.

Question: Was this subject not considered in great detail at the Ooty seminar?³⁵ When Shri Dhebar³⁶ was chairman of the committee which was to deal with institutional changes dissolved the committee?

Prime Minister: At the Ooty Seminar some reference was made I think by Mr. Deshmukh himself, rather casual reference, and not about any particular group, but that some such thing should be considered. It was not discussed, may be one or two questions referred to briefly.

33. C.D. Deshmukh, Chairman, UGC; and Union Finance Minister, 1950-56.

34. See items 72 and 76.

35. Held from 30 May to 4 June 1959. See SWJN/SS/49/item 164.

36. U.N. Dhebar, President of the Indian National Congress, 1955-59.

[THE SWORD OF DAMOCLES]



[Above: C.D. Deshmukh; Below from left : G.B. Pant,
V.K. Krishna Menon, Gulzarilal Nanda, Morarji Desai, Jagjivan Ram,
S.K. Patil, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Nehru]
(From *Shankar's Weekly*, 13 March 1960, Cover)

Question: Have you formed a definite opinion about the Party Vigilance committee?

Prime Minister: No. This was first of all a proposal made by a member at a private and confidential meeting of the Congress Party, and it had nothing to do with any so-called governmental step that might be taken, the governmental step is taken in a different context. It does not take the place of a governmental step. It was for the party's own benefit that where necessary—in effect it was, as was said, to relieve the burden on me, what I have to consider myself. A small committee which might consider and report to me; that was the broad idea. That did not put any end to Government initiative in the matter.

Question: Have you formed any definite opinion about it?

Prime Minister: No. I have not. We will, probably, consider it in the Executive Committee of the Party.

Question: The suggestion is that there should be a Standing Committee or Committees. As and when some specific references are made they should be studied by a committee. The suggestion was in favour of a standing committee.

Prime Minister: It was I think Mr Feroze Gandhi³⁷ who made this proposal in the Party and I said, "It is worthy of consideration, we will consider it".

Question: The Congress Party in Parliament is proposing, and the Swatantra Party has already proposed and so also each party in this country is proposing, to set up a tribunal for vigilance?

Prime Minister: We need not take of course the Swatantra Party in this connection with any seriousness. It is unique in its thinking and expression of its thoughts. But when the Congress Party says this, it is talking in terms of its own members, it is not talking—I have just tried to explain—in governmental terms. What it does might help Government or not, but it was interested in its own members being dealt with, shall I say, in a disciplined way. That is, if they have something, it should be done in a proper way but not vague charges being bandied about. If the Swatantra Party wants to have such a committee for its own members, they are welcome to do so, but, as I understand it, they proposed

37. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Rae Bareli.

[OFFICE IS AN ASSET]

You Said It

By LAXMAN



He revealed his assets;—he says apart from the position he holds he has no other asset!

(From *The Times of India*, 9 March 1960, p. 1)

to have the whole world as their domain for inquiry.

Question: Most of the members of the Swatantra Party are ex-Governor-General or ex-Ministers and they should be knowing something about corruption. Therefore, why don't you take them in little more seriously?

Question: You have said you cannot set up a tribunal in respect of vague charges. Has your attention been drawn to the setting up by the Labour Party a Tribunal in 1948 with wide terms of reference in respect of allegations against all people in the UK.³⁸

38. Also known as Lynskey tribunal set up to enquire into allegations of corruption against British ministers and civil servants.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Prime Minister: No. I know nothing about it.

Question: Are you allergic to the Swatantra Party?

Prime Minister: Not at all. I think the Swatantra Party is performing a very important function in India.

Question: What is that function?

Prime Minister: Drawing out all the people who are more or less wrong in thinking and action. It is almost a platform for the people who are completely out-of-date in the modern world.

Question: Is the report correct that you have already approached the Supreme Court for clarification about the terms of reference of any inquiry.

Prime Minister: I am not going to discuss this matter.

Question: Do you envisage any special significance to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference being held in May, or is it going to be just a routine get-together of the Prime Ministers?

Prime Minister: It is being held after full three years and this Conference will have some more new Members from Africa. That in itself makes it somewhat different, the period of time that has elapsed, the expanding membership, and thirdly, it is being held on the eve of the proposed Summit Meeting. I do not mean to say that the Prime Ministers' Conference will exercise any very great influence on the Summit. Nevertheless, there it is. And I think that these conferences have some value. Frank exchange of opinions about various matters does help in each member seeing the problem from a number of points of view.

Question: The pleasing feature of the Conference will be that India and Pakistan will be at the table in a more friendly atmosphere than before?

Prime Minister: I do not remember ever having been unfriendly with Pakistan at the Conference.

Question: Shall I say "more amicable"?

Prime Minister: That too we have been quite friendly and amicable at the conference table.

Question: On Nagaland, is it a fact that the Kuki tribals of the Assam border have submitted a representation to you giving out that they would not like to be included in the proposed Nagaland and want to be the residents of the place in the new administration that may be set up along with Manipur?

Prime Minister: I do not remember to have received any such representation, recently or at any time. The Kuki tribal people have given me representations on other matters a year or two ago or more. That is a different matter, but this particular proposal has not come to us. As a matter of fact, the Naga proposal has not come to us either here. I think in the course of the next few days or week or two, the Governor of Assam is going to meet some of the Nagas to discuss certain matters with them.³⁹

Question: What are the new factors which led to the reorganisation of NEFA administration?

Prime Minister: That is no reorganisation, is there?

Question: There were some reports that even the Assam Governor was here to discuss the matter with you. Is it going to be a large scale reorganisation or just appointment of an additional Commissioner?

Prime Minister: No, no. It has nothing to do with NEFA. If you are thinking in terms of Naga Hills and Tuensang Area which is different, It is a more effective organisation. That is all.

Question: Would you like to clarify the position regarding the nomination of Mrs. Parthasarathi as candidate to the Rajya Sabha because an allegation has been made in a Madras paper that being a Government servant, the lady cannot be a member of the legislature. So, Government doctors are employed to invalidate her. There is confusion in this.

Prime Minister: Well, when I came back from Dholpur, rather late at night, I saw a paper drawing my attention to this and I think this piece of news probably occurred in a South Indian weekly.

Question: *Swarajya*.

Prime Minister: Yes. It is a piece with the Swatantra Party sayings. Why my name was dragged in I do not know because I have never heard about this till very recently. I did not know that Mrs. Parathasarathi was likely to be nominated. I heard that the Madras Congress Committee had recommended her name. That is all I know. I don't quite understand doctors invalidating here. I don't understand this at all, what it means. Obviously, she cannot be a Government servant when she comes here. She has to choose.

A correspondent: She has resigned also.

39. See items 20 and 21; also SWJN/SS/59.

Prime Minister: That is what I say. She has to choose between Government servant and membership of the Rajya Sabha. It seems to me nothing wrong about a person choosing this. If she wants to come here she has to give up Government service.⁴⁰ That is the straightforward thing. Anyhow I am not concerned with it at all. I did not know about her coming here till accidentally I heard....

Question: In the party given by the Congress Party of the Legislature to the ex-president of the Congress, she expressed the hope that younger elements should be given chances at all levels and in the Government today there are many who are old, unfortunately with heart attacks and so on. Why are they being overburdened with work? Why not take younger elements also?

Prime Minister: This is a matter for my consideration in the future.

Question: Have you any comments on the Aligarh University affairs?

Prime Minister: I cannot comment. If you ask me a question I will try to answer it.

Question: Any likelihood of a Visitor's Committee being appointed.

Prime Minister: Well, it is very unfortunate, these occurrences about Aligarh University because Aligarh University has been and is a great university of India. And one wants it to maintain that reputation and standard. No doubt all these charges and counter-charges come in the way of that reputation. So far as I know, I am not sure, that the present committee appointed by the Vice-Chancellor of the Executive Council which offered its resignation is likely to withdraw its resignation and so, the possibility is that it will function.⁴¹ So the other question will not arise. As a matter of fact, this particular Committee itself though appointed by the Vice-Chancellor is in effect a Committee appointed by the Central Government. That is to say, the choice of the people, etc. was

40. Professor (Shrimati) G Parthasarathi, the Head of the Department of English at Presidency College, Madras University, was elected to the Rajya Sabha in April 1960.

41. The Committee, appointed by Colonel B.H. Zaidi, the Vice-Chancellor, to enquire into various charges of corruption, had resigned on 11 March 1960. They objected to Zaidi's press statement on 7 March 1960 refuting the allegations by Prakash Vir Shastri of Swatantra Party, Lok Sabha MP from Gurgaon, that University funds had been misappropriated. See *The Times of India*, 8 and 12 March 1960.

indicated by the Central Government. So, if the Visitor had appointed a committee, the Visitor would have appointed it on the recommendation of the Central Government. So, there is not too much difference between the two.

Question: How do you account for the fact that in all the U.P. Universities—Lucknow, Allahabad, Banaras⁴² and Aligarh—there has been a lot of trouble?⁴³

Prime Minister: You don't want me to say that because I have come away from U.P. all that has happened.

Question: Is it due to the association of too many politicians with the affairs of the Universities or some other element?

Prime Minister: Well, I think there has been that unfortunate element of people, politicians, of course. There is no reason why politicians should not be associated with universities. But politics should not be associated. There is a slight difference between the two. And there has been this trouble amongst students—even amongst teachers of the rival political parties—fighting their battles in the University. That is bad.

Question: About the recent visit of Mr Khrushchev, he said in Moscow that he considered his talks with you to be very useful. Do you share this view?

Prime Minister: Certainly, of course.

Question: What about the increasing number of holi riots?

Prime Minister: Where are the riots?

Question: Patiala, etc.

42. The Vice-Chancellor of the Banaras Hindu University, V.S. Jha, had resigned after charges against him were forwarded by the University's Executive Committee to the Solicitor General. However, the Union Education Minister, K.L. Shrimali informed the Lok Sabha on 11 April that he had been cleared of all charges. Justice N.H. Bhagwati, a former Judge of the Supreme Court, was appointed Vice-Chancellor on 11 April 1960.
43. The UP Universities Commission, under Harish Chandra, was appointed in 1960 and submitted its report in 1964. For details of other committees on universities in India, see Moonis Raza and Nirmal Malhotra, *Higher Education in India-A Comprehensive Bibliography* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1991).

Prime Minister: I thought there were hardly any. You are talking of their increased number. You must have looked into them through magnifying glasses. I do not know that Patiala had something of that—it may be a local, political tussle.⁴⁴ Well, if you permit me, I shall start.

Question: Will you hold your next meeting before meeting Mr Chou En-lai?

Prime Minister: We have not fixed a date about that. So, I cannot say anything about it.

[QUESTIONS AND NO ANSWERS]

You Said It

By LAXMAN



I don't see why he has called this conference—altogether we've put 50 questions and he has said "don't know" to every-one of them.

(From *The Times of India*, 19 March 1960, p. 1)

44. About seventy persons, belonging to various political parties, were arrested on 13 March in Patiala following a clash between Hindus and Sikhs. This figure varied in different newspapers. See *The Tribune*, 15 March 1960, and *The Times of India*, 14 March 1960.

(c) Interview

3. To Fritz Molden⁴⁵*Gespräch mit Nehru*Von Fritz Molden⁴⁶

Der Herausgeber der „Presse“, Fritz Molden, der sich auf einer Ostasienreise befindet, um an der Generalversammlung des Internationalen Presse-Instituts (IPI) in Tokio teilzunehmen, wurde am 8. März in Neu-Delhi vom indischen Ministerpräsidenten Nehru zu einem längeren Gespräch empfangen.

Nehru empfing mich diesmal in seinem Arbeitszimmer im indischen Parlament, das von außen wie eine riesige Stierkampfarena aussieht. Jetzt, Anfang März, ist es in New Delhi schon sehr heiß, und der kühle schattige Raum, dessen Fenster sich auf einen gartenartigen Innenhof öffnen, erleichterte es mir, mich auf das Gespräch mit jenem faszinierenden Mann zu konzentrieren, der es in weniger als fünfzehn Jahren fertiggebracht hat, die vierhundert Millionen Menschen des Subkontinents Indien in einen modernen Staat zusammenzufassen. Als ich Nehru vor zwei Jahren zum letztenmal besuchte⁴⁷ — damals im Ministerpräsidium, das so wie fast ganz New Delhi, noch die Engländer gebaut haben —, sprachen wir so wie heute vor allem von der Möglichkeit, den Frieden in der Welt zu sichern. Nehru war voll Sorge gewesen über den nach dem Genfer Katzenjammer wieder verschärft einsetzenden Kalten Krieg. Er wandte sich gegen die Aufspaltung der Welt in zwei große Blöcke, und erklärte mir ausführlich, warum er für Indien den Weg der Freiheit von Blöcken und Allianzen für richtig erachte. Keineswegs aber wollte er etwa einen dritten Block der Neutralen ins Leben rufen. Es war vielmehr sein Ziel, zu versuchen, die beiden bestehenden Mächtegruppen aufzulockern und auf diese Weise die Spannungen zu vermindern.

Jetzt, zwei Jahre später, ist Nehru gelöster und offensichtlich optimistischer. Auf meine Frage nach den Chancen der bevorstehenden Gipfelkonferenz meint er, diese besitze zweifellos einen wesentlichen Wert. Die Voraussetzung für

45. Report of an interview to Fritz Molden, Editor of *Die Presse*, an Austrian newspaper. The interview was given on 8 March 1960 in English, and published in *Die Presse*, Vienna, on Sunday, 13 March 1960, No. 3518, pp. 1-2.

46. (b. 1924); journalist, editor, publisher and diplomat; participated in the resistance movement during World War II; worked for *Die Presse*, the successor to *Neue Freie Presse*, and became its editor; married in 1948 Joan Dulles, daughter of A.W. Dulles who became Director of CIA in 1953.

47. On 6 February 1958, according to Nehru's engagement diary.

eine echte Entspannung sei heute sowohl im Osten wie im Westen bedeutend stärker gegeben als vor zwei Jahren. Er stellt zwar temperamentvoll fest, daß er keineswegs der Meinung sei, daß zwei Mächte allein, und mögen sie noch so stark sein, das Recht besitzen dürften, über die Zukunft der ganzen Welt zu entscheiden, fügt aber dann lächelnd hinzu, daß man die Dinge nun einmal so sehen müsse, wie sie sind, und daher auch nicht umhin könne, das Vorhandensein der großen Zwei zur Kenntnis zu nehmen. Er hält es im übrigen für besser, wenn die Gipfelkonferenz im kleinsten Kreise stattfindet, um zu vermeiden, daß allzu viele Leute allzu viele Reden zum Fenster hinaus halten. Aus diesem Grund würde er auch eine Teilnahme Indiens am kommenden Genfer „Gipfel“ für inopportun halten. Ich hatte fast den Eindruck, daß es Nehru am liebsten sähe, wenn die Gespräche überhaupt nur zwischen Eisenhower und Chruschtschow stattfänden.

Ganz von selbst gleitet unser Gespräch von der Gipfelkonferenz zu Nehrus Lieblings-thema: der Abrüstung, über. Fasziniert, gleichzeitig aber wohl auch ein wenig deprimiert von der ungeheuren Aufgabe, sein Indien aus einem Konglomeratmittelalterlicher Feudalreiche in einen modernen Industriestaat umzuwandeln, findet es Nehru besonders sinnlos und ärgerlich, auch nur einen Groschen Geld für Militärzwecke ausgeben zu müssen — ganz abgesehen davon, daß er als Schüler und politischer Testamentsvollstrecker Mahatma Gandhis kriegsrische Auseinandersetzungen grundsätzlich ablehnt. Aber auch in der Frage der Abrüstung ist Nehru in den letzten zwei Jahren abgeklärter und, wenn man dies von einem Philosophen par excellence sagen kann, noch philosophischer geworden. Als ich auf die Schwierigkeiten hinweise, die sich im Zusammenhang mit einer forcierten Abrüstung gerade für ein friedliches Land wie Indien ergeben können, und als Beispiel die derzeit so aktuellen Versuche Chinas erwähne, sich eigenmächtig indische Grenzgebiete anzueignen, wird Nehru sehr ernst. Er meint, daß man eben in unserer Zeit noch nicht einseitig abrüsten könne. Gandhi hätte vielleicht den Mut und die innere Kraft besessen, ganz einfach abzurüsten und die Probleme mit der Stärke seines Geistes zu lösen. Wir aber, die wir dem Tag verhaftete Politiker sein müssen, fügt Nehru hinzu, können dies nicht und müssen uns daher noch immer der herkömmlichen Mittel der Politik, auch zur Verteidigung der eigenen Grenzen, bedienen.

Vom südindischen Staat Kerala ausgehend, wo es bekanntlich Nehrus Kongreßpartei im Bündnis mit anderen Parteien bei den kürzlichen Wahlen gelungen ist, die Vorherrschaft der dortigen KP zu brechen, kommen wir auf den Kommunismus zu sprechen. Nehru bejaht die Möglichkeit, im eigenen Land den Kommunismus mit demokratischen Mitteln zu bekämpfen und gleichzeitig doch mit dem kommunistischen Block gute und tragbare Beziehungen aufrechtzuerhalten. Er ist der Auffassung, daß auch der Kommunist

in den Oststaaten einem ständigen Wandlungsprozeß unterworfen sei. Wie sehr habe sich doch die Sowjetunion gerade in den vergangenen zehn Jahren verändert! Sie sei heute materiell wie auch politisch konsolidiert und gehöre schon fast zu den saturierten Kräften in der Welt. Ganz anders sei dies mit China. Dort befinde man sich noch mitten in revolutionärer Entwicklung und habe offensichtlich noch nicht gelernt, radikale und allzu harte Auffassungen gerade in den Beziehungen zur Außenwelt zu unterdrücken.

Am Ende unseres Gespräches meint Nehru nachdenklich, die schnelle Entwicklung unserer Welt beginne den politischen und organisatorischen Fähigkeiten der Menschen davonzulaufen. Wenn wir gesund an Leib und Seele überleben wollen, werden wir nicht umhinkönnen, neue Methoden zu finden und anzuwenden, um der mannigfaltigen Probleme, die sich unserer modernen Gesellschaft in stets zunehmendem Maße stellen, Herr zu werden. Mit jenem unnachahmlichen Charme, der Jawaharlal Nehru, wenn er in der richtigen Stimmung ist, auszeichnet, meint er beim Abschied lächelnd: „Ihr schönes, fernes Österreich kann uns allen auf Grund seiner Geschichte und seiner Entwicklung so manche Lehre auf dem steinigen Weg, die menschlichen Beziehungen auf der Welt zu verbessern, mitgeben.“

[Translation begins:

Conversation with Nehru⁴⁸

By Fritz Molden⁴⁹

The editor of Die Presse, Fritz Molden, who is on a trip to East Asia to participate in the General Assembly of the International Press Institute (IPI) in Tokyo, was received by the Indian Prime Minister Nehru in New Delhi on 8 March for a long conversation.

Nehru received me in his study, this time in the Indian Parliament, which looks like a giant bullring from the outside. Now, in early March, it's already very warm in New Delhi, and the cool, shaded room, whose windows open on to a garden-like courtyard, made it easier for me to concentrate on the conversation with that fascinating man, who in less than fifteen years, has managed to bring together the four hundred million people of the Indian subcontinent into a modern state. When I visited Nehru two years ago⁵⁰—back

48. Translated from the German by Madhavan K. Palat.

49. See fn 46 in this section.

50. See fn 47 in this section.

then in the Prime Minister's Office, which, like almost all of New Delhi, was built by the British—we had talked like today especially about the chances of securing peace in the world. Nehru was anxious that the Cold War might be intensified as a hangover from Geneva. He opposed the division of the world into two large blocs, and explained in detail why he considered it right for India to remain free of blocs and alliances. But he did not in the least want to set up a third bloc of neutrals. Rather, he aimed to try to loosen the two existing groups of powers and thereby reduce tension.

Now, two years later, Nehru is more relaxed and more obviously optimistic. To my question about the chances for the forthcoming conference, he said that this was undoubtedly of great significance. The conditions for a proper relaxation in both the East and the West are today much better than they were two years ago. He was of course naturally determined that he could not accept that two powers alone, however powerful, should have the right to decide the future of the world; but then, he added with a smile that things must be seen for what they are, and that we cannot but take note of the Big Two. For the rest, he feels it would be better if the summit were to take place in small groups to avoid too many persons speaking out too much. For this reason, he considers Indian participation at the forthcoming Geneva "summit" inopportune. I almost had the impression that Nehru would have ideally liked talks between Eisenhower and Khrushchev alone.

Our conversation moved smoothly from the Summit Conference to Nehru's favorite theme: disarmament. Fascinated, but at the same time probably a little depressed, by the enormous task of transforming his India from a conglomerate medieval feudal state into a modern industrial one, Nehru found it particularly absurd and vexatious to have to spend even a penny for military purposes. This was quite apart from his principled repudiation of armed conflict as Mahatma Gandhi's disciple and political executor. Further, on the question of disarmament, Nehru has mellowed over the past two years and, if it may be said of a philosopher par excellence, he has become more philosophical. As I point out the problems of a forced disarmament for a peaceful country like India, and cite the example of China's current attempt to usurp Indian border areas, Nehru becomes very serious. He does not think it possible at this moment to disarm unilaterally. Gandhi may have had the courage and inner strength to simply disarm and to solve problems with spiritual force. But, Nehru went on, as day-to-day politicians we cannot do this and must stick to conventional political methods, even to defend our own borders.

Starting with the southern Indian state of Kerala, where, as is well known, Nehru's Congress Party in alliance with other parties has managed in the recent elections to break the dominance of the local Communist Party, we arrived at

the subject of communism. Nehru confirmed that it was possible to contest communism democratically in his own country while maintaining good and acceptable relations with the communist bloc. He believes that communists in the eastern states are constantly changing. How much the Soviet Union has changed in the course of the past ten years! She was now materially and politically secure and almost belonged to the satisfied powers the world. But it is quite different in the case of China. It was still in the midst of revolutionary change and had obviously not yet learnt to control radical and extreme views in its relations with the outside world.

At the end of our discussion, Nehru said contemplatively that the rapid development of our world was beginning to run ahead of the political and organisational skills of the people. If we want to survive healthy in body and mind, we cannot help but find and apply new methods to the manifold and ever growing problems confronting modern society. With that inimitable charm so typical of Jawaharlal Nehru when he is in the mood, he observes with a parting smile, "Your beautiful, faraway Austria can, thanks to its history and development, guide us so well along the rocky road to improving human relations in the world."

Translation ends]

II. POLITICS

(a) Indian National Congress

4. To Kailash Bihari Lall: No Rajya Sabha Nomination¹

3rd March, 1960

My dear Kailash Bihari Lalji,

I have your letter of March 2nd. May I say that I am not a member of the Central Parliamentary Board which chooses candidates? It is true, however, that I am sometimes invited to its meetings.

The work of the Parliamentary Board is a very difficult one because it has often to choose between good people. The fact of a person not being chosen for a further term is not at all because of any complaint against him, but for a variety of other considerations, including the desire to have new persons from time to time. So far as you are concerned, we all know your long career in the Congress and in social service. I am glad to find from your letter that you are going to continue your good work in the domain of social service. You will always have my good wishes.²

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

5. To R.G. Dubey: No Rajya Sabha Nomination³

March 10, 1960

My dear Dubey,⁴

I have your letter of the 8th March.

I have had very little to do with the selection of candidates for the Rajya Sabha. I am not a Member of the Parliamentary Board though sometimes they invite me or discuss matters with me.

1. Letter to Kailash Bihari Lall, Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Bihar.

The spelling is Lall on the Rajya Sabha website and Lal in Nehru's correspondence.

2. The Central Parliamentary Board of the Congress had met on 25, 26 and 28 February to decide the Congress candidates for the biennial election to the Rajya Sabha and some by-elections in the States and also to the Rajya Sabha.

3. Letter.

4. President, District Congress Committee, Bijapur, and Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Bijapur, 1952-57 and 1962-67.

In these matters of choosing people, all kinds of considerations come up. Not to be chosen does not mean at all that there is any lack of appreciation. I do not quite know who was chosen in this case. But I think probably what you yourself have said was the main consideration, that is, your having been defeated in the General Election. This is a broad general view which I think is correct so far as the Rajya Sabha is concerned and I think that on this occasion this rule was generally applied. In fact, some of our old Members for whom we have considerable respect were kept out in this way. I am not myself sure how far this policy is correct. But it has nothing to do with personal merits. You need not, therefore, think that your own work has not been appreciated.

But, as I have said above, I do not even know who was selected.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

6. To Ramlal Parikh: Youth Congress Convention a Tamasha⁵

March 18, 1960

Dear Ramlal,

Your letter of March 16th about the proposed All India Convention of Youth Congress to be held in Kashmir.⁶ It is not possible for me even tentatively to agree to any programme in September. If I can attend the function, I shall do so.

I am concerned to find that it is your intention to invite foreign visitors. I do not know what is meant by this. Are representatives from other countries to be invited or foreign people who are in India?

The danger in all these conferences is that they become a few days' tamasha and this aspect is rather encouraged by foreigners being present.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Letter to Secretary, Youth Department, AICC. Copied to Indira Gandhi.

6. For Nehru's message of 29 July 1960 to the Youth Congress, see SWJN/SS/61. The message however was published in the newspapers on 9 August, the Youth Congress Day.

7. To N. Sanjiva Reddy: No Intimacy with the Swatantra Party⁷

I am forwarding a letter I have received from Shri Mahesh Prasad Sinha.⁸ In this it is stated that two Congressmen, Shri Shyama Prasad Singh⁹ and Shri Fazlur Rahman, M.L.A., sat on the dais of the Swatantra Party Convention at Patna.¹⁰ This is certainly a breach of discipline. This might be noted for the present. But I think that some explanation should be called for from them.¹¹

(b) States

(i) Andhra Pradesh

8. To D. Sanjivayya: Sirpur Shares¹²

9th March, 1960

My dear Sanjivayya,¹³

I have received a letter from Shri Rangnath Rathi,¹⁴ a member of the Hyderabad Stock Exchange. With this letter he has sent me copies of the correspondence he has had with the Andhra Pradesh Government in the course of the last few years. The letter refers to what he calls "the biggest scandal in Sirpur Shares".¹⁵ I am enclosing a copy of this letter. I am not sending the other papers he has sent me, i.e. copies of his letters to the Andhra Pradesh Government, which are presumably with your Government.

7. Note to the Congress President, 24 March 1960.

8. A Minister in the Bihar Government.

9. MLC, Bihar.

10. Held on 20 March.

11. The Bihar PCC called for explanations from Fazlur Rahman and Baidyanatha Mahatha, MLAs, and Shyama Prasad Singh, MLC. See *Searchlight*, 25 April 1960.

12. Letter to the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh.

13. (1921-1972); Member, Provisional Parliament, 1950-52; Chief Minister, Andhra Pradesh, 1960-62; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1964-72; Union Minister of Labour and Employment and Industry, 1964-67 and 1970-71; President, INC, 1962-64.

14. See Appendix 10.

15. Subsequently, in a letter to Sanjivayya on 3 September 1960, Nehru referred to the enquiries into "a case relating to the sale of rights of new shares of the Sirpur Paper Mills Ltd. and of the Associated Cement Company Ltd." For this "apparently Damodar Reddi, then Finance Secretary, was directly responsible." See SWJN/SS/63.

Prima facie, what Rangnath Rathi says indicates that something very wrong was done, resulting in considerable loss to the then Hyderabad Government. Surely, in a case like this the facts should be fully ascertained. This matter appears to me of a rather serious nature and I should therefore like you to look into it very early and let me know your reactions.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

9. To Morarji Desai: Sirpur Shares¹⁶

9th March, 1960

My dear Morarji,

I am enclosing a letter and a bunch of other papers which I have received from Shri Rangnath Rathi, a member of the Hyderabad Stock Exchange. Reading these papers, one gets the impression that there has been something very wrong about all this business resulting in considerable loss to the old Hyderabad Government. A matter of this kind deserves inquiry.

It appears that Rangnath Rathi has been writing to the Andhra Pradesh Government without much result. Why this should be so I cannot make out, because prima facie the case is a serious one. I am writing to the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh on this subject. But as the matter appears to me to be serious, I think the Central Government should come into the picture, in what form I cannot say at present.

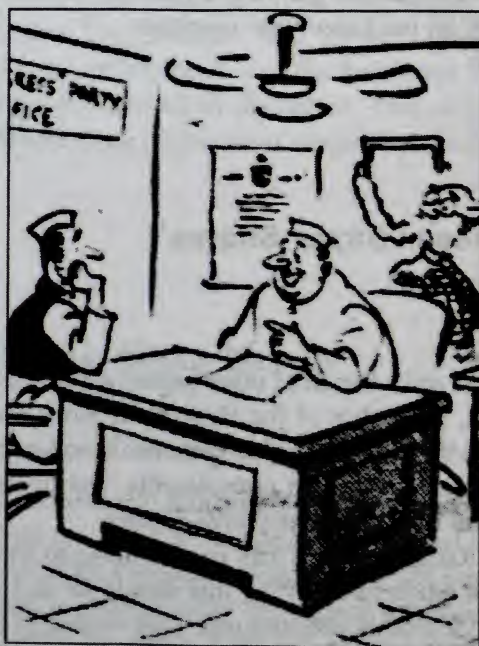
Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

16. Letter to the Union Minister of Finance.

[ADVICE TO YOUNG POLITICIANS]

You Said It

By LAXMAN



The secret is, young man, you should never let work interfere with your politics.

(From *The Times of India*, 2 March 1960, p. 1)

(ii) Bihar

10. To Sri Krishna Sinha: Dissension in Congress¹⁷

5th March, 1960

My dear Sri Babu,

Awadeshwar Prasad¹⁸ came to see me yesterday and told me that you felt unhappy about the talk we had the other day. I am sorry that this should have been so because, as you know, we rely upon you so much in meeting the difficult problems of Bihar.

17. Letter to the Chief Minister of Bihar.

18. Awadeshwar Prasad Sinha (1899-1964); Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Muzaffarpur-East, Bihar, 1952-57.

Whether in Bihar or elsewhere, the Congress organisation is reaching a very critical stage. This is not a question of inner troubles in parties,¹⁹ but rather the atmosphere in which we function and the reaction of the general public. I fear that we are too much concerned about our immediate difficulties and the major situation that is arising is apt to be ignored. It is this aspect which troubles me.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

(iii) Bombay

11. To Y.B. Chavan: Vidarbha²⁰

9th March, 1960

My dear Chavan,

I have had some people from Vidarbha who were greatly agitated because Vidarbha was included in the new Bombay State.²¹ Among the various things they told me they said that Vidarbha had suffered greatly from its association with Bombay. More particularly, reference was made to certain facilities which they had when they were with Madhya Pradesh and before being taken away. These were in the nature of educational facilities, free education, etc. I gather that this is ending on April 1st next when Vidarbha comes in line with the rest of the Bombay State.

I do not know anything about this, but I think that we have to be careful about anything which might take away a facility which is enjoyed in Vidarbha, especially educational.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

19. The dissident group in Bihar complained against the State PCC President and the Chief Minister regarding the elections of the State PCC President and some DCCs, and the AICC set up a three-man tribunal, consisting of Ram Krishna Iyer, Rajya Sabha MP, Brish Bhan and Brahm Perakash, former Chief Ministers of PEPSU and Delhi, to investigate these complaints. See *Searchlight*, 6 March 1960.
20. Letter to the Chief Minister of Bombay.
21. On 1 May 1960, the new states of Maharashtra and Gujarat came into being.

[DIVIDING PRICISELY]

You Said It

By LAXMAN



So sweet of you to do that. But really there's no need to be so strict about this bifurcation—you can keep the odd chair.

(From *The Times of India*, 12 March 1960, p. 1)

(iv) Jammu and Kashmir

12. To C.R. Srinivasan: Corruption Charges Against Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad²²

After reading these papers,²³ I think you might pass them on to Shri Shankar Prasad, Secretary, Kashmir Affairs. I suppose Shri Ghulam Mohammed

22. Note to the Private Secretary, 2 March 1960. File No. KS-1/60, p. 1, MHA.

23. For B.N. Bamzai's note of 1 March 1960, the only paper available with us, see Appendix 8.

Bakhshi's²⁴ attention must have been drawn to these charges and allegations. Shri Shankar Prasad might, when an opportunity offers itself, enquire from him what he proposes to do about this matter.

2. Shri G.M. Sadiq²⁵ is at present in Delhi. He saw me just for a few minutes yesterday morning before I left Delhi²⁶ and said that he wanted to meet me again. I told him that, if possible, I shall see him.

13. To Shankar Prasad: Gulab Singh Centenary Celebrations²⁷

March 20, 1960

My dear Shankar Prasad,

Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammed came to see me today. Among other things, he mentioned to me that the Yuvraj was thinking of celebrating the Gulab Singh Shatabdi²⁸ or Centenary on a rather big scale next month, chiefly in Jammu. Bakhshi Saheb was rather worried about the reactions to this and more especially because this is enabling the Praja Parishad and the R.S.S. and like organisations again to come to the forefront.

I myself think that it would be unwise for the Yuvraj to do this kind of thing in any big way. I can very well understand his desire to celebrate this occasion and Gulab Singh was an outstanding person.

If the Yuvraj comes here, I shall speak to him about it. But I do not know when he will come. If you have an opportunity, you might mention this to him tactfully. If he wants to celebrate this occasion, he might do so. But what would be harmful would be any big show and especially anything with which the Praja Parishad and other people are associated.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

24. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad, the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir.

25. Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq, leader of the Democratic National Conference.

26. Nehru had gone to Calcutta to meet Khrushchev and to attend the civic reception on 1 March. See items 235 and 236.

27. Letter to Prasad, Secretary, Kashmir Affairs. File No. KS-2/60, MHA. Also available in JN Collection.

28. Maharaja Gulab Singh (1792-1858); ruler of the territory now called Jammu and Kashmir.

(v) Kerala

14. To Pattom Thanu Pillai: Visit to Kundah and Parambikulam Projects²⁹

March 3, 1960

My dear Thanu Pillai,

Congratulations to you on your forming a government in Kerala.³⁰ I wish you and your Government all success in facing your difficult problems.

The Madras Government has invited me to inaugurate the Kundah Project³¹ in the Nilgiris. After that, they want me to go to the Parambikulam Project³² for some ceremony there. Parambikulam is, I understand, just across the border in Kerala. So, if I go there, I shall be entering your State.

I understand that Kamaraj³³ has invited you to come to that ceremony. I would not like to come in the way of your work, but if you can easily come to Parambikulam I shall be happy to meet you there.

My present programme is to reach Coimbatore about mid-day on the 24th March; to leave the same afternoon for Kundah and to come back to Coimbatore in the evening and spend the night there. Next morning, that is, the 25th, we go to Parambikulam, returning the same evening to Coimbatore. On the 26th morning, I return to Delhi.³⁴

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

29. Letter to the Chief Minister of Kerala. File No. 8/139/60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

30. On 22 February 1960.

31. The Rs 35-crore Kundah hydro-electric scheme was formally inaugurated by two workers—a man and a woman—in the presence of Nehru. For his speech, see item 134.

32. Parambikulam dam on the Parambikulam river.

33. K. Kamaraj, Chief Minister of Madras State.

34. See also items 128 and 129 on this visit.

(vi) Madhya Pradesh

15. To Dahyabhai Patel: People's Subscriptions for Development Projects³⁵

March 4, 1960

Dear Dahyabhai,

I have your letter of March 3rd. It is evident that our approach to public questions differs. It will, therefore, serve little purpose for me to carry on an argument about these matters with you. It is easy to pick up any State in India to express dissatisfaction with the progress of work done. We want to do so much but are unable to fulfill our wishes.

You refer to the Kankrapara Project³⁶ and a condition laid down by the Bombay Government for the agriculturists to subscribe to the State loan. I do not know anything about it, but, of this I know, that for Chambal Project in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh³⁷ a very considerable sum of money was subscribed by the people before this project was fully taken up.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

(vii) The North East

16. In the Lok Sabha: Restrictions on Visits of Foreigners to NEFA³⁸

Shri D.C. Sharma:³⁹ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) the nature of restrictions imposed on the visit of foreigners to NEFA through India; and
- (b) whether it is a fact that the working of the existing restrictions is proposed to be reviewed?

35. Letter to Patel, Mahagujarat Janata Parishad, Rajya Sabha MP from Maharashtra.
36. Under the Kankrapara Project, the weir was completed in 1953 near Surat, and the canals were scheduled to be ready in 1963.
37. Jointly executed by the Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan Governments.
38. Written answers to questions, 1 March 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXIX, col. 3382.
39. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Gurdaspur.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):

(a) The visit of foreigners to NEFA through India is regulated by the Foreigners (Protected Areas) Order, 1958.

(b) No Sir.

17. In the Rajya Sabha: Naga Insurgency⁴⁰

Dr. A. N. Bose:⁴¹ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- a) the amount spent for operations in Naga Hills Tuensang Area for suppression of hostile activities of Nagas from 1948 to 1959;
- (b) the loss of life and property which occurred during the same period; and
- c) whether there is any proposal under Government's consideration for a peaceful settlement with the hostile Nagas?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon):

- (a) Approximately Rs. 216 lakhs during the period from 1st December, 1957 to 31st December, 1959. Information prior to that date is not available as neither the Assam Government in respect of Naga Hills District nor the N.E.F.A. Administration in respect of Tuensang Frontier Division kept a separate Head in their budgets for such expenditure.
- (b) 285 on Government side. Accurate figures about loss of property are not available.
- (c) Government has always worked for a peaceful settlement of the Naga problem and has been meeting with considerable success in so far as the population in that area is concerned. Many of the hostile people have surrendered. There are still, however, a number of Nagas who are carrying on hostile and violent activities.

Dr. A.N. Bose: May I know, Sir, whether any steps have been taken for the development of the Naga areas and, if so, what is the actual achievement made in this direction?

40. Oral answers to questions, 3 March 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVIII, cols 2551-2553.

41. PSP, Rajya Sabha MP from West Bengal.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I think, Sir, on a fairly good number of occasions information regarding the various steps taken for the development of these areas has been placed before this House in the form of answers to questions and even otherwise. Quite a number of steps have been taken in the fields of education, health and so on and so forth.

Dr. A. N. Bose: Is it a fact that Shri Phizo,⁴² before he started these hostile operations, tried to contact the authorities in Assam and at the Centre?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Phizo, on some occasions, met me also some years ago; I think it was twice, once in Assam and once in Delhi.⁴³

Dr. A. N. Bose: Did he make any proposals about the settlement of the Naga problem?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir, as far as I know it.

Dr. A. N. Bose: Has the Ministry any knowledge of the present whereabouts of Shri Phizo, and is the Government making any attempt to contact him for a peaceful solution of the Naga problem?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir. We have no precise knowledge about it. Probably he is not in that area. We are not making any attempt to contact him, nor do we intend doing that.

Shri Maheswar Naik:⁴⁴ May I know whether it is a fact that these Nagas had resumed their hostile activities after some temporary period of cessation and, if so, whether some foreign agencies are ceaselessly at work to alienate the Nagas against India?

42. A.Z. Phizo, Naga National Council leader; fled to the UK in 1956.

43. Nehru was on a two-day election tour in Assam in December 1951. According to reports in *National Herald* on 30 December 1951 and 1 January 1952, Nehru addressed meetings at Gauhati, Nowgong and Tezpur on 29 December 1951; and at Dibrugarh, Silchar and Karimganj on 30 December 1951. Nehru probably met Phizo during this visit (see also Nehru's letter to Jairamdas Doulatram on 2 February 1952, SWJN/SS/17/p. 384, item 2). In his letter to Bisnuram Medhi on 13 March 1952, Nehru mentioned meeting Phizo and two other persons, see SWJN/SS/17/p. 386, item 3. This is corroborated by the entry in his engagement diary for 11 March 1952, 11 a.m.

44. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Orissa.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir. We are not aware of any foreign agencies working there. As for these Naga activities, I think they are much less now. Of course, it is very difficult to locate their places of activities and such armed men always try to create trouble.

Shri T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar:⁴⁵ May I know whether there is any external aid given to the Nagas in order to make our settlement with them impossible?

Mr. Chairman:⁴⁶ He has just denied it.

Shri Faridul Haq Ansari:⁴⁷ Is there any truth in the report that the Chinese people are helping these Nagas?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have not heard of that before, Sir.

Shri Purna Chandra Sharma:⁴⁸ May I know the number of these Nagas at present confined in jails. I mean those who have surrendered?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I would like to mention, Sir, that the people who surrender are not always confined in jails. They are normally allowed to carry on their normal and peaceful activities on some kind of assurance regarding their conduct, etc.

18. In the Lok Sabha: Naga Insurgency⁴⁹

Question:⁵⁰ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to lay a statement showing:
(a) how many times the Naga rebels have raided since the 15th December, 1959;

45. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Madras State.

46. S. Radhakrishnan.

47. PSP, Rajya Sabha MP from Uttar Pradesh.

48. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Assam.

49. Oral answers to questions, 4 March 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXIX, cols 4166-4171.

50. By Congress MPs Shree Narayan Das, Radha Raman, Raghunath Singh, N. K. Pangarkar, Bibhuti Mishra, Hem Raj, D.C. Sharma; Independent MP S.M. Banerjee; FB (M) MP Subiman Ghose; PAWPI MP D.R. Chavan.

- (b) the extent of loss suffered by the Government and the people;
- (c) the nature and kind of property looted;
- (d) how many people have been kidnapped and killed or are untraceable; and
- (e) how many Naga rebels were killed or captured during this period?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri J. N. Hazarika): (a) to (e). A statement is placed on the Table of the House.

Statement

1. Raids by the Naga rebels since the 15th December, 1959

NHTA	13
Assam State.....	5
Manipur.....	6
2. Extent of loss suffered by the Government and the people

NHTA	Value of loss sufferer being ascertained.
	Killed—1
Assam State.....	Property worth Rs. 8510—, 7 fire arms and 20 rounds of ammunition looted or destroyed, 18 inches of Railway line blown and one Railway engine damaged by bullets.
Manipur.....	Property worth Rs. 7471.75 looted or destroyed.
3. Nature and kind of property looted.
Cash, licensed arms, clothes, food grains, wrist watches and fountain-pens.
4. Number of people kidnapped, killed or untraceable.

NHTA	35 kidnapped—still untraceable.
Assam State.....	25 kidnapped and later released.
Manipur.....	Nil.
5. Naga rebels killed or captured:

NHTA.....	Killed—15
	Captured—207
Assam State	Nil
Manipur	Captured—2

Shri S. M. Banerjee:⁵¹ In view of the repeated incidents as mentioned in the statement, I want to know if it is a fact that the Naga hostiles are much more stronger than the loyal ones, and if so, what step are Government taking to negotiate with the hostiles to have a permanent solution?

Shri J. N. Hazarika:⁵² They are not stronger than the loyal Nagas. The people in large numbers are cooperating with the administration.

Shri Amjad Ali:⁵³ With regard to the answer to part (e) of the Question, could I know, if the Nagas are being cleared from the Naga Hills at this rate and if this process of killing goes on, whether there will be any Naga left un-killed in the Nagaland at all?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): The hon. Member's question started with a presumption which is most extraordinary and based on some phantasmagoria of the mind.

Shri Hem Barua:⁵⁴ May I know whether it is a fact that the recent convention of the Naga people held at Mokokchung have adopted a resolution demanding a separate Naga State within the Indian Union; if so, is Government seized of that resolution, and what are their reactions to that resolution?⁵⁵

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: That resolution has not been sent to us formally. We have seen it in the sense it was reported. But the matter is under discussion among the convention people themselves, and when they consider it the right time, they would come to us and discuss the matter with us.

Shri Hem Raj:⁵⁶ May I know whether any attempt has been made to approach the border States of Burma and Pakistan to round up these Naga hostiles?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Approached by whom?

51. Independent, Lok Sabha MP from Kanpur, UP.
52. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Dibrugarh, Assam; and Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs.
53. PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Dhubri, Assam.
54. PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Gauhati, Assam.
55. The Third Naga People's Convention, held at Mokokchung, 22-26 October 1959, demanded a separate Naga State.
56. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Kangra, Punjab.

Mr. Speaker:⁵⁷ Approached by us. That is what he says.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Certainly not, Sir.

Shri Hem Barua: May I know whether this resolution of the Naga people's convention that has not yet been forwarded to the Central Government is being discussed at the local official level, with the Governor of Assam or with the local officials there in the administration?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The convention people themselves are still conferring about this matter, and conferring with other Nagas there. I think that they have met occasionally official people, but there has been no meeting or discussion at the official level, because they have not yet themselves made up their mind quite clearly as to what to discuss.

Shri Joachim Alva:⁵⁸ Have you offered them a general amnesty, and have the terms of that amnesty been sufficiently circularised so that you can bring round the rebels and put them into peaceful lines?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: An amnesty was offered and kept open, but obviously the amnesty does not include all future offences which take place after the amnesty.

Shrimati Mafida Ahmed:⁵⁹ In the statement I find that there were altogether 24 raids in different places. May I know whether it is a fact that troubles increased due to relaxation of security measures in the Naga Hill-Tuensang Area, and if so, may I know whether the security measures have been intensified now?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I can hardly discuss the nature of security measures in answer to a question. They are quite adequate we think, but no amount of security measures can give security to an individual or to a group, we cannot make 100 per cent, security. The best security is the security which comes

57. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Chittoor, Andhra Pradesh, and Speaker of the Lok Sabha, 1956-62.

58. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Kanara, Mysore.

59. Spelt Mofida in the Second Lok Sabha *Who's Who 1957* (New Delhi: Lok Sabha Secretariat, July 1957), p. 7 and on the Lok Sabha website: Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Jorhat, Assam.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

from the populace generally supporting the administration. In a very large area that has happened. In fact, it is the result of this spread, if I may use the expression, of a relative peaceful order in large areas, that certain eruptions have taken place in entirely different areas. It is a measure of the success of the administration that they have broken out in some odd areas quite distant from the others.

Shri Raghunath Singh:⁶⁰ May I know whether the 200 civilian Nagas who have been captured are in jail, or have been released, or some cases have been started against them?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I could not say about all of them. It depends on what they were guilty of. Either they were imprisoned, or, if they have surrendered in the normal course with nothing special against them, they have probably been released.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: In the statement it is mentioned that 15 Nagas have been killed and 207 captured. I want to know whether those who have been captured have revealed their source of getting arms and ammunitions. Were they interrogated?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: These are normal procedures. When a person is captured, every type of available information is sought to be obtained from him.

Mr. Speaker: It cannot be given.

Shri Hem Barua: May I know whether this process of extending the date of the amnesty from time to time has given an indirect fillip to the Naga hostiles who surrendered to take to these hostile activities once again?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: There has been no extension of the amnesty, and there has been no final date. An amnesty was proclaimed a considerable time ago, and it was made clear that this does not apply to future offences, but the past. The matter is there. If any offences are committed today, they are not governed by the amnesty.

60. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh.

Shrimati Mafida Ahmed: May I know whether the so-called loyal Nagas are co-operating with our police and army men to resist the hostile activities?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: How am I to answer this vague question? I have already stated that broadly the people of the Naga areas are anti to the hostile elements; they are giving a great deal of co-operation. Today, we have, in fact, what are called village guards made of the Nagas there. They are in their villages and they perform very good service, because naturally they live in that country and they know. Therefore, it may be said that by and large, over large areas, a great measure of co-operation is received.

19. To P.N. Luthra: Invitation to Visit Naga Hills⁶¹

March 5, 1960

My dear Luthra,

A few days ago, I received a letter from Dr. Imkongliba Longkhumer⁶² dated 13th February 1960. In this letter he conveyed an invitation to me to visit the Naga Hills. Will you please inform him that I have received his invitation and thank him for it? I would very much like to visit the Naga Hills and meet the people there, but I am afraid this is not possible during the next two months or so as our Parliament is sitting here and I am heavily occupied. After that I have to go to England for the conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers. I hope, however, some time later to be able to visit the Naga Hills.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

61. Letter to Commissioner, Naga Hills and Tuensang Area. Copied to FS.

62. Dr Imkongliba Ao, President of the Naga People's Convention, was also known as Dr Imkongliba Longkhumer (personal communication from Tali Longkhumer, retired from the IAS, second son of Dr Imkongliba Ao, to the Editor). Dr Imkongliba Ao was also the first chairman of the Interim Body to advise the Executive Council of Nagaland; he was assassinated in August 1961. See the website of the Ministry of External Affairs <http://mealib.nic.in/?pdf24887000>, accessed on 4 June 2014.

20. To S. Dutt: Naga People's Convention Proposals⁶³

These new proposals of the Naga Convention are very far-reaching. I do not myself see how we can accept them as they are, even apart from the law and order situation which cannot be ignored. To consider a small area like the Naga Hills with a population of 300,000 as a State with all its consequences seems to me completely unreal and verging on the fantastic. I do not mind the Nagas having the fullest internal autonomy subject to law and order being the ultimate responsibility of the Governor. But this attempt to copy the apparatus of other States has little to do with reality.

2. I agree with you that the Governor⁶⁴ should meet these people first.

3. The Governor is coming to see me on Monday, 7th March, at 4 P.M. in Parliament House. Please come there then, and we shall discuss this matter.

21. To S. Dutt: Naga People's Convention Proposals⁶⁵

I agree broadly with your recommendations. I have not read the long report of the Commissioner and am relying on your summary of it. I had also a talk with General Shrinagesh this evening, though a very brief one, I am seeing him again on Monday, 7th March, at 3 P.M. in Parliament House. I should like you to come then. This talk will be mainly concerned with the proposals of the Naga Convention.

2. While I generally agree with the proposition that the Assam Rifles are often better suited to meet the situation in the Naga Hills than the Army, it is clear that the process of replacing the Army will have to be a phased one and will depend on the new Assam Rifles battalions being ready to take over.

3. The new proposals of the Convention are very far-reaching. I do not myself see how we can accept them as they are. This again creates a somewhat new situation.

63. Note to FS, 5 March 1960.

64. S.M. Shrinagesh.

65. Note to FS, 5 March 1960.

22. In the Lok Sabha: Surrender by Naga Insurgents⁶⁶

Question: ⁶⁷Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) (whether it is a fact that a Naga "Brigadier" surrendered himself with some of his followers; and
- (b) if so, what is his name, and the details of his surrender?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):
(a) and (b). One self-styled Naga Home Guard "Brigadier" Vikuho Sema was arrested by an Assam Rifles patrol party on the 3rd February 1960, near Lhoshyepu in Naga Hills Tuensang Area, with ten other hostiles. One sten gun, four 403 Rifles and 48 rounds of ammunition were recovered from them.

23. To B.P. Chaliha: Charges Against Moinul Huq Choudhuri⁶⁸

March 13, 1960

My dear Chaliha,

You will remember my forwarding to you some months ago a communication which contained some vague allegations against Moinul Huq Choudhuri.⁶⁹ You replied to that adequately, and I was quite satisfied, indeed, I was satisfied even before getting your reply, but in the normal course I forward such complaints to the Chief Ministers concerned,

Now I have received another letter of complaint with serious charges against Moinul Huq. I have no doubt that these also have no basis. Our people are getting into the habit of making wild charges. When our senior men do this, it is difficult to check others.

However, something has to be done when charges are made, and if the charges prove false, then also something should be done to punish the person who made the charges.

66. Written answers to questions, 9 March 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XL, col. 4905.

67. By Independent MP Ramgarib, Congress MP S.A. Mehdi and Socialist Party MP Arjun Singh Bhadoria.

68. Letter to the Chief Minister of Assam.

69. Moinul Haque (as listed on Lok Sabha website) Choudhuri (1923-1976); Congressman from Assam; MLA, Assam, 1952-71; Chief Whip, Assam CPP, 1957-62; Minister in the Assam Government, 1957-67; Union Minister of Industrial Development, 1971-1972.

It has also become a habit to ask for a high-powered tribunal for every allegation.

I am enclosing this letter from Biman Pachani. I suggest that you send for him and tell him that he must produce evidence for at least a prima facie case. He must further realise that such charges, if not satisfactorily established, are defamatory.

This man refers to some printed statement that he has issued.⁷⁰ This statement is clearly defamatory, and Moinul Huq might well take action on it.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

24. In the Lok Sabha: Shifting of NEFA Offices⁷¹

Shri P.C. Borooah:⁷² Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that most of the offices of NEFA at Shillong are going to be shifted to Ziro in the Subansiri Division;
- (b) if so, when; and
- (c) the reasons therefor?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):

- (a) It is proposed to appoint a separate Commissioner under the Governor of Assam for the administration of NEFA with his headquarters in Shillong. It is considered desirable, however, that the headquarters should be shifted to the interior of NEFA as soon as possible. Ziro, in the Subansiri Frontier Division, is being considered as a possibility for locating the Commissioner's office because of the availability of space there and its comparatively easy accessibility.
- (b) No firm date has been fixed and the matter is still under examination.
- (c) For administration convenience it is desirable that the headquarters of the Commissioner should be located within his jurisdiction.

70. A booklet, *Dhangsar Pathat Assam Congress*, was written and published by Biman Pachani on 31 January 1960 in Jorhat.

71. Written answers to questions, 14 March 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XL, col. 5676.

72. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Sibsagar, Assam.

25. To S.M. Shrinagesh: Helping Tribal People⁷³

17th March, 1960

My dear Shrinagesh,

I enclose a letter from my Parliamentary Secretary Hazarika⁷⁴ and a petition from some tribal people. This will give you the facts stated.

Obviously we cannot give very substantial help to these people but I think they do deserve some help. Instead of sending this direct, I would much rather that you arrange for this help as you think proper.

When Saiyid Fazl Ali⁷⁵ was Governor of Assam, I sent him on two or three occasions some money to be used at his discretion in helping these tribal people in various ways. Among these ways was giving scholarships to tribal students. I have no idea how much of that money is still available to you. Anyhow, I am sending you a cheque for Rs. 10,000/- from the Prime Minister's Relief Fund. You can add that to any balance left with you and use it for such relief purposes as you think proper.

This does not mean that you should give this sum to the writers of the petition enclosed. You will give them whatever you think right and keep the balance for future use.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

26. To S.M. Shrinagesh: Assam Itinerary⁷⁶

March 22, 1960

My dear Shrinagesh,

I think I told you that I Intended going to Tezpur to see the constructions put up by our Army people there. I expect to reach Tezpur on the 15th April about mid day. I shall visit this Army camp. Later I hope to visit the Missimari Camp for the Tibetan refugees and spend the night at Tezpur. Early next morning, the 16th, I shall probably go to Gauhati and spend the day there. Probably Chaliha

73 . Letter.

74. J.N. Hazarika, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Dibrugarh, Assam, and Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs.

75. Governor of Assam, 1956-59.

76. Letter.

will organise some function there. Fakhruddin⁷⁷ mention to me that they might have some kind of a Panchayat Conference.

But what I am more interested in is to have talks with you and Chaliha at Gauhati about various matters, more especially about Naga affairs. I hope you will be able to come to Gauhati for this purpose. I am sorry I cannot go up to Shillong as that will take too much time, coming and going. On the 17th morning, I have to leave rather early for Delhi.

The exact timing of my visit Tezpur and Gauhati will be fixed later and you will, of course, be informed.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

(viii) Punjab

27. To Partap Singh Kairon: Rao Kanwar Sain and Rao Birendra Singh⁷⁸

3rd March 1960

My dear Partap Singh,

My attention has been drawn to some evidence of a Sub-Inspector of Police in a case of the Punjab Government against Rao Kanwar Sain. I am writing to you about this as Rao Birendra Singh⁷⁹ appears to be involved in these cases.⁸⁰ It is rather odd that the Investigating Officer should himself be declared a hostile witness. This case is apparently going on now.

I am sending you a copy of some extracts from the evidence of this Sub-Inspector of Police—Hardyal Singh.⁸¹ Also an affidavit of Balram Singh Baghi, ex-General Secretary, District Congress Committee, Gurgaon, about the various relationships of Rao Birendra Singh. Presumably this relates to the purchase of lands.

77. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, Finance Minister, Assam.

78. Letter to the Chief Minister of Punjab.

79. Irrigation and Power Minister, Punjab Government.

80. See also SWJN/SS/57/item 17.

81. See Appendix 6.

It is alleged by some people here that Rao Birendra Singh harasses and terrorises people in these areas and gets them arrested or beaten.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

28. To Tara Singh: The Language Issue⁸²

March 7, 1960

My dear Master Tara Singh,

I have received your letter of March 8[6], 1960.⁸³ In this you enquire from me about the position of the Government of India, in regard to a new committee which is being appointed by the Punjab Government to consider the language issue.

The position of the Government of India has always been that this and like matters should be settled in a friendly way by mutual agreement. We have, therefore, welcomed all attempts to promote such friendly agreement. The appointment of a representative committee in this manner to deal with this matter in this way does not appear to me to be a breach of any agreement or formula. The committee is both a high level and a representative one, and the Governor has been requested to be the Chairman. This committee indeed appears to me a continuation of the previous Good Relations Committee.

The appointment of a Good Relations Committee and this present committee was entirely in the discretion of the Punjab Government and did not require any kind of authority from the Government of India. As a matter of fact, the Chief Minister of the Punjab did inform me that it was his intention to appoint such a committee. I told him that whatever helped in bringing about friendly settlements was commendable.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

82. Letter to Tara Singh, Akali leader.

83. This should be 6 March 1960 as Nehru is replying on 7 March. See Appendix 15.

29. To Partap Singh Kairon: The Gian Singh Rarewala Case⁸⁴

March 14, 1960

My dear Partap Singh,

As you know, I referred all the papers of Gian Singh Rarewala's⁸⁵ case to our Law Minister again. He has had them for a long time. The delay was partly due to Gian Singh Rarewala having expressed a wish to meet him and discuss this matter. This took a considerable time.

The result of all this has not yet led to a final decision by the Law Minister. He has sent me a letter, a copy of which I enclose.⁸⁶ In this he says that it is necessary to examine six persons. I cannot obviously examine them and the Law Minister has left tonight for Geneva to attend a conference there.⁸⁷ He will be away for about six weeks.

A possible course might be for me to send an officer of our Law Ministry to examine these people at Chandigarh and report.

The Law Minister has sent me a number of papers including notes by Gian Singh Rarewala. I am not sending these papers to you. But if an officer of our Law Ministry goes there, he could take them with him.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

30. To Partap Singh Kairon: Gurdwara Politics⁸⁸

March 18, 1960

My dear Partap Singh,

Your letter of March 17th about complaints made by the Akali Dal regarding Government interference in Gurdwara affairs.

I have no recollection of what I wrote when the Four Man Committee was appointed. I think however, that it would be better not to take too rigid a view of what I had written, but to enquire also into many new complaints.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

84. Letter.

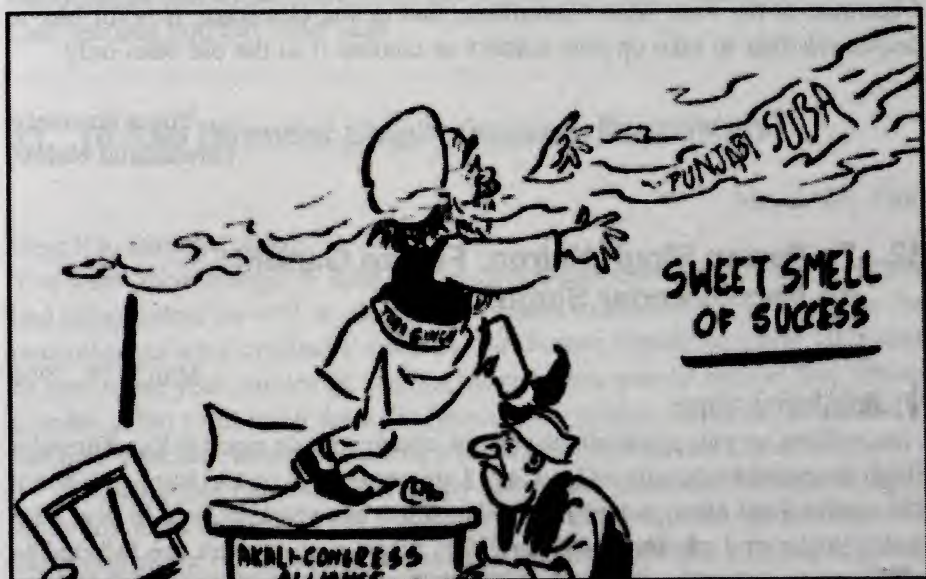
85. Minister for Agriculture and Forests, Government of Punjab.

86. See Appendix 26.

87. Law of the Sea Conference.

88. Letter.

[PUBJABI SUBA]



(From *The Times of India*, 21 March 1960, p. 7)

31. To Partap Singh Kairon: The Four Man Committee⁸⁹

March 19, 1960

My dear Partap Singh,

I wrote to you yesterday in answer to your letter about the Four Man Committee. You had enquired from me as to whether this Four Man Committee could consider, any new matters or should it confine itself to the old complaints. I replied to you that it might be as well to permit them to consider new matters.

This evening I have had a talk with your Governor, Gadgil. In the course of our talk, I mentioned this matter to him also and he told me that in his opinion it is better not to enlarge the work of this Four Man Committee. At any rate they should deal with the present complaints before the other question arises.

On reconsideration, therefore, I have changed my opinion and agreed with the Governor. I think the right attitude for you to take up in this matter is that

89. Letter.

the interpretation of my original note on this subject should be made by the Chairman of the Four Man Committee, that is, the Governor. It is for him to decide whether to take up new matters or confine it to the old ones only.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

32. To Partap Singh Kairon: Feroze Gandhi on Rao Birender Singh⁹⁰

March 24, 1960

My dear Partap Singh

I am writing to you again about various charges made against Rao Birender Singh in regard to the sale of land, etc. I am sorry to go on troubling you about this matter. I am busy enough with other important work to have to deal with such charges and explanations. However, when such matters are referred to me I have to undertake the burden and discharge it to the best of my ability.

Charges against Rao Birender Singh were made to me by several persons. The most elaborate and documented charge was from Feroze Gandhi. When your reply came to me as well as the explanation of Rao Birender Singh, these were placed before Shri Feroze Gandhi. He produced a large number of documents which included certified copies of registered deeds as well as other papers. On the basis of these documents and papers, he drew our attention to contradictions and to statements which appeared to be incorrect. The matter was again gone into fairly thoroughly in my office and a note was prepared containing Feroze Gandhi's replies to the explanations given in regard to the charges against Rao Birender Singh. I enclose a copy of this note. I am sending a copy to Rao Birender Singh also direct.

I confess that all this leaves a bad taste. It has to be remembered that a Minister has to be judged by stricter standards than an average person. More particularly, when a Minister or his relatives deal with Government in any way, this requires strict scrutiny. Personally I would like to have a rule that all transactions of this kind between a Minister and Government should be forbidden or should take place under the strictest scrutiny.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

[P.S.] I received some time ago another complaint against Rao Birender Singh. Many things that are said in this are covered by the other charges. Nevertheless I am sending you this letter also.

33. To Rao Birender Singh: Observe Proprieties⁹¹

March 24, 1960

Dear Rao Birender Singh,

You were good enough to send me two letters dated March 15 and 18. I have had these letters as well as all relevant papers examined fully afresh. As the main charges were originally made by Shri Feroze Gandhi in a note addressed to me, I had your replies as well as other papers placed before Shri Feroze Gandhi. After examining them, he gave certain replies which are contained in the note attached. I have sent a copy of this note also to the Chief Minister.

I confess that I am not at all happy about the way things were done. Apart from any legal analysis, I am concerned even more with the proprieties to be observed, more especially by Ministers. I do not think that a Minister should directly or indirectly do anything which might create suspicion in the public mind.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

(ix) Uttar Pradesh

34. To Sampurnanand: Kamalapati Tripathi Case⁹²

March 18, 1960

My dear Sampurnanand,

I enclose a letter and a bundle of other papers relating to Kamalapati Tripathi's⁹³ case.⁹⁴ There was some reference to it in Parliament and as a result of what I

91. Letter.

92. Letter to the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

93. Minister of Home, Irrigation, Information, and Education in Uttar Pradesh.

94. This refers to the corruption charges against Kamalapati Tripathi involving his son Lokpati Tripathi's firm. See SWJN/SS/57/item 29.

said there these papers have been sent to me. Perhaps you will be good enough to have them looked into.

You will notice that copies of the letter have been sent to Acharya Vinoba Bhave and Shri Rajagopalachari. It is also indicated that they will be issued to the press.

I suppose the case in the law court is still going on.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

(x) West Bengal

35. To B.C. Roy: Flood Control Measures⁹⁵

March 6, 1960

My dear Bidhan,

Last year certain steps were taken to improve the conditions of offtake of the Bhagirathi from the Ganga, following my letter of May 25, 1959.⁹⁶ I understand that the results have more than justified the action taken: the floods have now cut a deep channel in the Ganga and a favourable curvature of the river now hugs the off take of the Bhagirathi for two or three miles upstream and downstream of Biswanathpur. This normally would have ensured perennial flow but for certain obstructions in the bed of the Bhagirathi.

Early in January the Ministry of Irrigation & Power suggested to the West Bengal Government that the "humps" or obstructions in the Bhagirathi should be removed. Their proposal appears to have been recently approved by the West Bengal Flood Enquiry Committee. This removal of obstructions will eliminate the congestion in the Bhagirathi and improve the post flood conditions. I understand that the Calcutta Port Commissioners welcome the proposal both for the immediate advantage it will give and as purposeful preparatory measure for the success of the Ganga Barrage Project.

I gather that to obtain the best results the work has to be undertaken without delay as the quantity of earth work involved is large. I will be glad if

95. Letter to the Chief Minister of West Bengal. Saroj Chakrabarty (ed.), *With B.C. Roy and Other Chief Ministers* (Calcutta: Benson's, 1974), p. 445. Also available in JN Collection.

96. See SWJN/SS/49/item 184.

you would kindly look into this matter and expedite execution of the project so that it can be completed before the river level rises.

Yours affectionately,
Jawahar

36. To B.C. Roy: Dandakaranya⁹⁷

March 11, 1960

My dear Bidhan,

The newspapers have reported something that you have said recently about Dandakaranya. I do not know how far this report is correct. It says that you said something to the effect that you were not being consulted by the Central Government about much that was being done for Dandakaranya.⁹⁸

I am sorry you have that feeling and, if on any occasion, there has been lack of consultation, this was certainly wrong. Obviously in this matter we can only proceed in consultation with you and with your goodwill. In view of the situation of this area in Orissa and Madhya Pradesh, we cannot ignore those States, who not only know that territory, but are also responsible for the existing inhabitants of that area, chiefly tribal people. But, in effect the major interest in this development is yours, and we really cannot go ahead with the scheme without the full cooperation of your Government.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawahar]

97. Letter. Copied to Mehr Chand Khanna, Union Minister of State for Rehabilitation and Minority Affairs.

98. During the debate for a grant of Rs 5.74 crores for expenditure on displaced persons, B.C. Roy said in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly on 9 March 1960 that things "are going on there not with our knowledge" and action was being taken "previous to our consent". P.C. Sen, the State Rehabilitation Minister regretted that the performance of the Dandakaranya Administration was inadequate. Members demanded the resignation of Mehr Chand Khanna. See *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 10 March 1960.

37. To B.C. Roy: Ganga Barrage Scheme⁹⁹

March 12, 1960

My dear Bidhan,

Your letter of March 8th about the Ganga Barrage Scheme.¹⁰⁰ I can assure you that we are all anxious to go ahead with this scheme and, in fact, work to that end is being done in various ways. We did feel, however, that we might not make a public announcement about this for two or three months while the Canal Waters discussions are going on. We hope they will be completed in about two months' time. But this does not mean any delay and this project is certainly being included in our plans.

Yours affectionately,
Jawahar

38. To B.C. Roy: CPI's Memorandum on Floods¹⁰¹

12th March, 1960

My dear Bidhan,

Your letter of March 10th in which you deal with some of the points raised in a memorandum on floods issued by the Communist Party of India. Thank you for sending this to me. I might add, however, that I had not read the CPI's memorandum though, I suppose, I must have received it.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal]

99. Letter. File No. 17(156)/56-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection and Saroj Chakrabarty (ed.), *With B.C. Roy and Other Chief Ministers* (Calcutta: Benson's, 1974), p. 447.

100. See Appendix 18.

101. Letter.

39. To Mehr Chand Khanna: Bengal's Role in Dandakaranya Important¹⁰²

23rd March, 1960

My dear Mehr Chand,

Your letter of the 22nd March.

I am glad that Dr. Roy is visiting Dandakaranya. It will also be good if a number of MLAs and newspaper men visit that place.¹⁰³

I think it is important that Dr. Roy and the Bengal Government should be closely connected with developments in Dandakaranya. In fact, the success of the work there depends on their cooperation and goodwill. There should be no difficulty in adding any representative of the Bengal Government to the Authority. Also among the non-officials chosen, who are so many, there should be a number of Bengalis.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

(c) Goa

40. To S. Dutt: Situation in Goa¹⁰⁴

I had another talk with Purushottam Kakodkar¹⁰⁵ today about Goa. I think that before too long, we must discuss these various matters connected with Goa and come to some decisions. So far as bigger policy matters are concerned, we should wait till the decision of the World Court, which cannot be delayed too long now.¹⁰⁶ That decision has no direct relevance to Goa. Nevertheless, it may indirectly affect the situation.

2. But there are many other matters which require urgent consideration; a fact to be recognised is that the policy we have pursued in regard to Goa has failed. The situation there instead of improving has, in many ways, deteriorated.

102. Letter.

103. Accompanied by Mehr Chand Khanna and four of his Ministers, B.C. Roy went to Dandakaranya on 24 April on a three-day tour.

104. Note to the FS, 6 March 1960.

105. Nationalist leader from Goa.

106. The verdict was given on 12 April 1960. For Nehru's letter to Setalvad of 13 April, see SWJN/SS/59.

Anyhow there is a complete deadlock, and for us to carry on in the old way without recognising this fact is not the path of wisdom.

3. Apart from those very basic policies, there is one aspect to be considered. Are we to continue to try to isolate Goa from the rest of India or to encourage some kind of cultural and other contacts? The former policy of complete isolation has failed and has produced the result that Goa does not depend on India for anything now. She can carry on well without India. That is not what we aimed at. At the same time, the economic boycott has failed and smuggling is carried on on a vast scale. People on our side and the Goanese side are corrupted.

4. Then there is the question of routes to Goa, that is, whether we should have one or two or three routes, and if one route, which one it should be.

5. I think that we have to continue certain economic measures against Goa, But perhaps not in the same manner as we have done in the past. We must deal with smuggling in a more effective way than we have done so far. Whether we should have one route or two does not seem to me of great importance. This should be looked at from the point of view of certain facilities for those who go there as well as the prevention of smuggling. There is no particular point in imagining that we have one route when smuggling takes place all over the place.

6. On the whole I think that we should encourage people coming and going from and to Goa and thus getting in touch with India. Boys and girls coming to school or college should be encouraged. The complaints about harassment by the police should be dealt with.

7. I have learnt with some surprise that people who want to come from Goa to India are asked to come via Karachi. This is very extraordinary, if true. Have we issued some orders like this and, if so, why was this done without any consideration of the consequences?

8. This is just a brief note. I want to discuss this with you after a few days. You have already sent me a long note on this subject.

41. To M.J. Desai: Too Many Bureaucrats and Policemen¹⁰⁷

I agree generally with what you have written. I am surprised to learn of the great strength of our Customs and Central Excise staff. Even the Special Reserve Police staff is much more than I had imagined. In spite of all these expensive

107. Note to the CS, 7 March 1960.

arrangements, we have singularly failed to control smuggling. This is a particular instance of where large numbers lead to bad work.

I entirely agree that these numbers should be reduced, especially of the Customs and Central Excise staff and that duplication of the police should be avoided.

You told me today that there is a general impression in our Ministry that we should make it as difficult as possible for people to travel to and from Goa. This is an entirely erroneous impression and should be removed as early as possible. The route or routes that we finally select for transit should be such as [to] make it easy for travellers.

I do not quite understand what our Special Officer in charge of Goa Affairs does. As far as I can make out, he has very little to do and it would make little difference if he was not there.

42. To M.J. Desai: Goa and the Bombay-Mysore Boundary Dispute¹⁰⁸

The boundary disputes between Bombay and Mysore States are not only coming in the way of our appointing an officer with the consent of both the States, but are likely continually to affect our dealing with the Goa problem. Your suggestion that the entire strip of Indian territory on the Goa border should be included in one State is logically correct, but it is not at all feasible, more especially at the present juncture, passions have been roused about these borders and every attempt at any kind of change would create serious difficulties. We have, therefore, to accept things as they are and adapt our work to them.

2. Because of this dispute between the two States, it seems to me that it would be highly advisable to appoint an officer who belongs to neither of those States, although that officer's headquarters would presumably be in Bombay. It has to be remembered that the Goan problem extends to Goans in Bombay, apart from Diu and Daman, which are in Gujarat. A Mysore officer, however good he might be, will not be able to deal with the Goans in Bombay or in Diu or Daman. In fact, because of the tension between the two States, the officer from Mysore will get little help from the Bombay Government or the Bombay Police. If we have to choose between Mysore and Bombay for the purpose of selecting an officer, I have no doubt that the choice should lie with Bombay because of the considerations I have given above. But we are not limited to that

108. Note to the CS, 12 March 1960.

choice, and I feel sure that it would be better for us to choose an officer from some third State.

3. From this point of view, I think that your suggestion that Shri Handoo¹⁰⁹ should be appointed as Commandant of the Special Reserve Police, Goa, is a good one. Neither Mysore nor Bombay should object to his coming from outside those States. The D.I.B.¹¹⁰ has said that Handoo would make a very good choice, and I agree with him.

4. The only criticism of Shri Handoo's appointment would be that he does not know the area or the language there, which means chiefly Konkani. I do not think these objections have very much force in the circumstances. He can easily get to know the area and I hope he will try to pick up Konkani.

5. From another point of view, it seems to me particularly desirable that an entirely fresh mind not connected with the Goa problem of that area or the people there is brought in. We have been getting into ruts over Goa in almost everything that we have done. So far as smuggling is concerned, from all accounts it has flourished in an increasing measure, in spite of the very large force, both Police and Customs that we keep there. Indeed, I am beginning to wonder if the position would not have been much the same or even better if we had had no border police. Therefore, it is desirable to have a new approach and a new man, preferably from outside.

6. For all these reasons, I approve of your proposal to employ or re-employ Shri Handoo for this particular post. The employment might be, to begin with, for two years.

7. The question, however, arises that Shri Handoo may not be free to take up this post for another six or seven months. Some temporary arrangement has to be made. You may proceed on this basis and get an officer from Bombay for this temporary period. Previous to that, you should inform both Governments that having considered this matter carefully; we have felt that it would be better to appoint an experienced officer from another State so that he can bring a fresh mind to bear on these matters. You might add in your letter to the Mysore Government that any such officer will have to deal with the big problem of Goans in Bombay City as well as in Diu and Daman.

8. While the officer will presumably have some kind of headquarters in Bombay. I would really like him to give his full time to this border issue and have no other work. Indeed, I would like him to spend most of his time at the border personally supervising what is being done there.

109. G.K.Handoo, an IP Officer of the UP Cadre, Director, National Police Academy, Hyderabad, from 17 May 1958 to 31 October 1960.

110. B.N. Mullik.

9. I hope that your recent proposals about a big scale reduction in the customs staff are going to be given effect too soon.

(d) Pondicherry

43. In the Rajya Sabha: Death of Thirunavukarasu¹¹¹

Shri Bhupesh Gupta:¹¹² Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) Whether the Chief Commissioner of Pondicherry received any communication from the Mayor of Mudaliarpet, Mr. Vaithilingam, regarding the death of Shri Thirunavukarasu; and
- (b) If so, what action was taken by the Chief Commissioner in the matter?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) and (b) Yes. The Mayor of Mudaliarpet wrote to the Chief Commissioner alleging foul play in the death of Shri Thirunavukarasu which resulted from extensive burns. The Pondicherry Administration conducted a full enquiry into the case and were satisfied that the allegations were without foundation. The Mayor of Mudaliarpet was informed accordingly.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta : May I know whether the Mayor of the Mudaliarpet Commune, Pondicherry, wrote to the Chief Commissioner on the 30th November, 1959, and then another letter on the 16th December, 1959, and whether it is not a fact that, especially in the last letter he pointed out that according to the statement of the mother of the deceased, the person had been killed—the person mentioned here in this question? According to the mother, the Public Prosecutor was suspected of having a hand in this murder.

Mr. Chairman:¹¹³ Read out the name. I want to see whether you can read it.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: With your permission, Sir...

111. Oral answers to questions, 3 March 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVIII, cols 2587-2591.

112. CPI, Rajya Sabha MP from West Bengal.

113. S. Radhakrishnan.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: The name of the person or of the Chief Commissioner...

Mr. Chairman: No, no, the name of the person.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: "... Mr. Vaithilingam, regarding the death of Shri T-h-i-r-u-n-a-v-u. . ."

Sir, the Prime Minister may understand it very much. Let me slowly proceed -"Shri T-h-i-r-u-n-a-v-u-k-a-r-a-s-u."

The main point here is, the Mayor wrote a letter after he had met the mother of the deceased person and on the basis of the statement of the mother which said that circumstances led her to suspect high Government officials and then she named the Public Prosecutor saying that he was implicated in it. She has told the Mayor that the Public Prosecutor was after a woman who was the keep of her son.

Mr. Chairman: What are you talking?

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: This is the case, Sir. The whole papers are here.

Mr. Chairman: Mr. Prime Minister, have you anything to say in this matter.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, an enquiry has been made, and I can only inform the House of the result of that enquiry. If the House so wishes, I can read out the statement made by the deceased to the police before he died naturally, not after his death. Well, shall I read it out, Sir.

Mr. Chairman: If it is long, then don't read it.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Twelve lines.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: And also the mother's statement.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: "While he was sleeping in his house, a kerosene lamp that was nearby accidentally fell on his bed drenching his banian that was left there. This was about 10:30 P.M. He could not get sleep afterwards. Hence, he put on the banian and went to the arrack shop of Subramaniam situated in Oupalam Road to consume arrack. On his way, he lit a cigarette and while doing so, his kerosene-drenched banian caught fire. He violently tore away his banian and rolled on the ground to put out the fire."

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: May I read out to you the other statement and get the Prime Minister's elucidation? Is it not a fact that the Mayor of Mudaliarpet wrote to the Chief Commissioner—

“The deceased Thirunavukarasu had a keep by name Kuppu, at Porakulam near Oupalam. Thirunavukarasu's mother is said to have scolded him for this. . .”

It is a long statement, not a twelve line one. In the end, allegations are made against the Public Prosecutor.

Dr. D.H. Variava:¹¹⁴ May I know when the Indian legal system will come into existence in Pondicherry?

Mr. Chairman: “When will the French law be displaced by the Indian law?” That is what he asks.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It will be displaced when the de jure transfer takes place. It may be that even before that, parts of it may go, but we think that it should continue till then. And it is possible that even after the de jure transfer, we may partly continue that, because the people are used to that legal system, the language used there is also French.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: May I know, Sir, in this connection of de jure transfer, whether it is not a fact that the Pondicherry Assembly unanimously passed a resolution requesting the Central Government that at least certain steps for the integration of the judiciary there with the Indian judiciary should be taken pending the final de jure transfer.

Mr. Chairman: He has shifted from that and come to another.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: Because you do not like my question.

Mr. Chairman: The present question is whether the Pondicherry Assembly has not passed some resolution asking for the displacement of the French system by the Indian system even before the de jure transfer takes place. Am I right?

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: Absolutely.

114. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Bombay State.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have no recollection; it may be so. The question, how far we can change, is under consideration. The difficulty occurs, Sir, because the whole proceedings in Pondicherry are not only under the French law but in the French language. If we send some judicial officer from here unacquainted with the French law in the French language, it will be useless, Sir.

44. In the Lok Sabha: Judiciary in Pondicherry¹¹⁵

Question:¹¹⁶ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government propose to bring the Judiciary in Pondicherry in line with the Judiciary in the Indian Union;
- (b) whether representations were received in this regard;
- (c) which is the ultimate Court of Appeal for Pondicherry; and
- (d) what steps Government propose to take to grant powers to High Courts in neighbouring States and to the Supreme Court in such matters?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) and (b). Government have received representations from Leaders of different political parties in Pondicherry that steps should be taken to amend the judicial procedures that now prevail in that territory in order to ensure that the final Court of Appeal for all cases is a Court in the Indian Union. The system of Judicial Administration in the territory continues to be that as established by the French Government. The representations received by Government deal more with the Question of the final Court of Appeal rather than the Question of introducing radical changes in the judicial system as such.

(c) There are three kinds of courts, in the territory, viz., judicial courts, an Administrative Court and a Labour Court. Appeals from the judicial courts lie to the Cour de Cassation in Paris. Appeals from the Administrative Court and Labour Court lie to the Counsel d'État and to the Court Supérieur d'Arbitrage in Paris respectively.

(d) The matter has to be very carefully examined in relation to the rights acquired by us under the terms of the Agreement with the Government of

115. Oral answers to questions, 4 March 1960, *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXIX, cols 4174-4177.

116. By CPI MPs K.T.K. Tangamani, H. N. Mukerjee, Prabhat Kar and RSP MP Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri.

France on de facto transfer of French establishments in India, dated the 21st October, 1954, as also the Constitutional position obtaining in regard to the retention of the French judicial system in Pondicherry and the Constitutional position of the Supreme Court and other High Courts in India. A beginning, however, has been made in the study of this problem.

Shri Tangamani:¹¹⁷ May I know whether it is a fact that the Public Prosecutor in Pondicherry has got the same status as that of a district judge, so that any reference to his own personality, which may be of a criminal nature, is now looked upon as contempt of court?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): I am not absolutely positive about it, but, broadly, I think under the French law, that is the rule.

Shri Tangamani: May I know whether it is a fact that the final court of appeal being in Paris, Government have preferred certain appeals on the question of customs, to the Supreme Court in Paris?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not aware of it.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: In view of the possibility that the de facto Administration might, in the case of appeals, have to appear before French courts, may I know if Government has considered that aspect of the matter which impinges on our sovereignty?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Did the hon. Member say “de facto Administrator”?

Mr. Speaker: He means de facto Administration, which is vested in us. In cases of conflict, have this Government to go and appear before the Supreme Court in Paris, and does it impinge upon our sovereignty?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not think there is any question of impinging on our sovereignty. These are interim difficulties that we have to face. The question has not arisen, but it is undoubtedly a somewhat unsatisfactory state of affairs. And we are examining how far, even apart from the question of de jure transfer, this question of appeals etc. can be dealt with otherwise.

117. K.T.K. Tangamani, CPI, Lok Sabha MP from Madurai, Madras State.

Shri Amjad Ali:¹¹⁸ From the reply to parts (c) and (d) of the question, we understand that the set-up of the judiciary there is according to the French system, and that the French laws are in vogue there. How long will it take to switch over to Indian laws in Pondicherry?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have just said that first of all, no other change has been effected, since the *de jure* transfer has not taken place, though the *de facto* transfer has taken place. But I do not say that some steps in regard to the legal system cannot be taken even without the *de jure* transfer. That is what we are examining now. But at the same time, there are certain assurances we have given not precisely about the legal system but, nevertheless, connected with it—that we will not change them rapidly, because they are used to certain methods, customs etc.—just as some people object to the presence of others there who object to any change. So we have to proceed cautiously.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee:¹¹⁹ In view of the categorical opinion of the Pondicherry State Assembly regarding the complete change over in the *de jure* sense also, may I know why Government considers that there are certain representative elements in Pondicherry who would object to the kind of change envisaged?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Because they have told us so.

45. To S. Dutt: To Appeal or Not in Paris¹²⁰

The point raised by our Ambassador in Paris¹²¹ appears to me important.¹²² I do not know what these proceedings are to which reference is made in his telegram. But, for us to go to Paris in appeal or otherwise has an indirect and perhaps slightly harmful effect.

118. PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Dhubri, Assam.

119. CPI, Lok Sabha MP from Calcutta Central, West Bengal.

120. Note to FS, 5 March 1960. File No. 32-1/60-GP, MHA.

121. N. Raghavan.

122. See Appendix 14.

46. In the Rajya Sabha: Pondicherry Integration¹²³

Mr. Subbiah's Proposals about Integration of Pondicherry with Indian Union

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the Ministry of External Affairs received any letter dated December 22, 1959, from Mr. V. Subbiah,¹²⁴ Leader of the Opposition in the Pondicherry State Assembly, containing inter alia, a number of proposals for total integration of Pondicherry with the Indian Union;
- (b) whether in this communication Mr. Subbiah drew the attention of the Government to a resolution passed unanimously by the Pondicherry State Assembly on the 18th November, 1959 on the question of the de jure transfer; and
- (c) if so, what steps Government have taken or propose to take on Mr. Subbiah's proposals and the resolution?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) Yes. (b) Yes.

(c) The Treaty of Cession of the French Establishments in India has not yet been ratified by the French National Assembly. The question of bringing the Pondicherry Representative Assembly in line with other Assemblies in India would arise only after the Treaty of Cession has been ratified. In regard to judicial procedure and other matters, these questions are being considered from the point of view of such action as may be possible and desirable now. A careful study of these problems is necessary from the point of view of the Agreement of the 21st October, 1954.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: May I know, Sir, whether it is not a fact that in this letter of December 22, 1959 Mr. Subbiah, after referring to the Resolution of the Pondicherry Assembly, passed on the 18th of November, 1959. I am reminding the Prime Minister, because this is a relevant matter—made some suggestions, that the present representative Assembly of Pondicherry should be vested with powers of enacting legislation and assuming full responsibility for running the State Government, that the present Council of Ministers should assume full powers and responsibilities...

123. Oral answers to questions, 8 March 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVIII, cols 3025-3027.

124. V.K. Subbiah.

Mr. Chairman: They have got that letter.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: . . . of Cabinet Ministers and that representation should be given to Pondicherry in the Lok Sabha? May I know, Sir, whether it is not a fact that in the course of that letter, and also through other discussions, Mr. Subbiah pointed out to the Government that at least some of these things could be immediately implemented without offending against any commitments with regard to the de jure transfer of that territory?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: May I venture to ask you, Sir, if we are to answer long letters in the course of a supplementary question? Are we supposed to answer a long letter which he has read out—or even a short letter—in the course of a supplementary question? Well, Sir, we receive hundreds of letters daily and we cannot give answers like that.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: Sir, that is most unfortunate. This letter is from the leader of the Opposition there; it is not merely one of such hundreds of letters. May I know, Sir, whether it is not a fact that in regard to these three suggestions it was pointed out to the Government that at least some partial implementation was possible even while the matter of de jure transfer was pending, without infringing any law or any international commitment?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, the answer has just been given, that these matters are being considered and they have to be carefully considered because of various factors; one is about its legal implications—of course, we do not say that it cannot be done—and the second is with regard to certain practical results thereof and conveniences, etc.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: It was pointed out, I think, in Pondicherry that when there was no de facto transfer, there were three representatives from Pondicherry to the French Chamber of Deputies. May I know why this arrangement cannot be there that Pondicherry should send at least one representative or two representatives to the Parliament when de jure transfer has not taken place although the Mendes-Nehru agreement was arrived at in October 1958? ¹²⁵

125. Referring, in fact, to the Agreement on De Facto Transfer of French Establishments in October 1954; see SWJN/SS/27/pp. 220-221, 224-225; items 2-5.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I beg to submit that these are not questions to be put in the Question Hour. These are proposals involving constitutional changes and will have effects on the Constitution. How can I answer them?

47. To S. Dutt: De Jure Transfer of Pondicherry Delayed¹²⁶

I agree with you that we should not recognise the jurisdiction of the Appellate Court in Paris over Pondicherry.¹²⁷ The consequences of this should be carefully worked out.

It seems to me that there is no hope of the de jure transfer of Pondicherry taking place in the foreseeable future.

I think that this matter should also be considered by the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Cabinet whenever it meets next.¹²⁸

48. In the Lok Sabha: Former French Possessions in India¹²⁹

Question:¹³⁰ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 260 on the 24th November, 1959 and state the latest position regarding the de jure transfer of former French possessions in India?

126. Note to FS, 15 March 1960. File No. 32-1/60-GP, MHA.

127. This related to two cases in the Appellate Court in Paris: one concerning two customs officials from Madras alleged to have carried away goods and beat up certain persons in Pondicherry in December 1954; and the second case concerning an official's appeal against a judgement dated 27 September 1958 of the Administrative Court, Pondicherry, in a service matter starting in September 1956. This was explained in a note by Joint Secretary, MEA, V.H. Coelho to S. Dutt in a note on 11 March 1960, see File No. 32-1/60-GP, MHA.

128. See Appendix 37.

129. Oral answers to questions, 22 March 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XLI, cols 7163-7165.

130. By Congress MPs Ram Krishan Gupta, D.C. Sharma, Rameshwar Tantia, Nagorao Kerojee Pangarkar, A.M. Tariq and CPI MPs H.N. Mukerjee and Prabhat Kar.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan):¹³¹ There has been no further progress in this matter and the question of the ratification of the Treaty of Cession is still pending with the Government of France. No firm date has yet been fixed for discussion of this issue in the French National Assembly, Government continue to bring this to the notice of the Government of France on all suitable occasions.

Shri Ram Krishan Gupta:¹³² In his recent statement, the hon. Prime Minister said on 17th March that,

“I hope that even before the de jure transfer takes place or not, we shall be able to put an end to this business”.¹³³

May I know what methods are going to be adopted to put an end to this business?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): That is a matter for legal and other considerations. I can not go into details. We are considering the matter.

Shri D.C.Sharma: What are the disabilities imposed upon the citizens of the former French possessions by not having the de jure transfer and what steps are Government taking to overcome those disabilities?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Disabilities on whom? On the people of those areas?

Shri D.C. Sharma: Yes.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is not so much a question of disabilities, but a different system, which does not fit in with the system elsewhere in India. I do not think there are any particular disabilities on them. Sometimes, whether it is judicial or other systems, they follow their own procedures.

Shri A.M. Tariq:¹³⁴ May I know if at any time the French Government told our Ambassador in France about the ratification of this agreement?

131. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Warangal, Andhra Pradesh, and Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs.

132. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Mohindergarh, Punjab.

133. See item 205.

134. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Srinagar, Jammu and Kashmir.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: One disability, if I may revert to the last question, is that they are not directly or indirectly represented in Parliament.

Regarding Shri Tariq's question, yes; on many occasions, the Ministers of the French Government—I do not say formally the French Government—have said that this matter will be proceeded with soon.

Shri Hem Barua: In view of the fact that no date for the ratification of the Treaty of Cession has yet been fixed, nor has it been discussed in the French National Assembly, may I know whether the hon. Prime Minister proposes to discuss this matter with Gen. de Gaulle on his way back when he visits France?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am always unable to say what I will discuss with any Head of State. It is not certain that I shall go there.

(e) Bhutan

49. To N. R. Pillai and S. Dutt: No Need for Thimayya to Meet Jigme Dorji Wangchuk¹³⁵

Recently I have seen a number of telegrams addressed by Shri Apa Pant¹³⁶ to General Thimayya, asking him to go to Calcutta to meet the Maharaja of Bhutan.¹³⁷ I do not think it is at all proper for Shri Apa Pant to take such steps without any reference to us. I should like you to inform him of this. He cannot judge from where he is what may or may not be the proper procedure or the proper step to take. By his making direct approaches to our military commanders he puts them in an embarrassing position.

Normally I would not like to encourage direct discussions between our military chiefs and the Maharaja of Bhutan or anyone else in his position. If the Maharaja was in Delhi, I would not mind so much his meeting our Chief of Staff. But, for our Chief of Staff, Army, especially to go to Calcutta to meet the Maharaja would immediately have a political significance and newspapers would draw their own inferences, however far-fetched these might be. Therefore, I

135. Note to SG and FS, 3 March 1960.

136. Political Officer in Sikkim and Bhutan.

137. Jigme Dorji Wangchuk, the Maharaja of Bhutan, arrived in Calcutta on 26 February 1960 on an unofficial visit.

am not in favour of General Thimayya going to Calcutta for this purpose. I have said this to the Defence Minister. As a matter of fact, I have recently met the Maharaja of Bhutan in Calcutta, as well as the Foreign Secretary, and we have had a talk about various matters. Even for this reason, there is no need for the General to go there.

(f) Administration

(i) General

50. To Bahadur Singh: UPSC and Promotions in Services¹³⁸

March 3, 1960

Dear Bahadur Singhji,

I have your letter of the 2nd March,

Governments have framed certain rules in consultation with the U.P.S.C. in regard to appointments and promotions in the Central Secretariat Service. According to these rules, it is not necessary to consult the Commission in regard to selections for appointment to a post included in the Central Service Class I of any officer who is already a member of the Central Secretariat Service Class I. Officers of Grade II of the Central Secretariat Service, who are eligible for promotion to the posts of Under Secretary, are already in Central Service Class I. Their promotion, therefore, from one post to another in the same Service Class I does not require consultation with the U.P.S.C. The U.P.S.C. has however to be consulted before an officer is promoted to Grade II of the Central Secretariat Service. Once that selection has been made in consultation with the U.P.S.C., further consultation with the Promotions from the State Service to the Indian Administrative Service require consultations with the U.P.S.C. because the State Service is considered a lower service than the I.A.S. No consultation with the U.P.S.C. is however needed when an officer in the junior scale of the I.A.S. is promoted to the senior scale of the I.A.S. All these appointments are in the same Service.

If we change these rules and make consultation with U.P.S.C. mandatory in every case of promotion within the same Service, this will mean a great increase of work all rounds. As it is, the U.P.S.C. find it difficult to cope with

138. Letter to Bahadur Singh, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Ludhiana, Punjab.

the volume of work that has been allotted to them. The question will then arise about expanding the U.P.S.C.

Apart from this, I do not think it is necessary or desirable for the U.P.S.C. to be consulted in these matters of promotion within the same Service. The best judges are presumably the people who work in that Service and know the quality of work of individual officers.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

51. To Diwan Chaman Lall: Giving Jobs to Qualified Persons ¹³⁹

March 3, 1960

My dear Chaman Lall,

Your letter of March 3rd. I entirely agree with you that the qualified persons who are employed in the American pavilion in the World Agriculture Fair¹⁴⁰ should be given useful work to do. As you have already written to S.K. Patil¹⁴¹ and mentioned this to Panjabrao Deshmukh,¹⁴² I am not writing to them on the subject, I am, however, drawing the attention of Professor Thacker who is the Secretary of the Manpower Committee for Scientific Subjects etc. You might ask these persons, to send him full particulars about themselves.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

139. Letter to Chaman Lall, Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Punjab.

140. In New Delhi, 11 December 1959-29 February 1960.

141. Union Minister of Food and Agriculture.

142. Union Minister of State for Food and Agriculture.

52. To M.S. Thacker: Giving Jobs to Qualified Persons¹⁴³

March 3, 1960

My dear Thacker,

I enclose a letter from Diwan Chaman Lall and copy of my reply to him. It does seem to me rather odd that when we require trained personnel, these persons could only find temporary employment at the American pavilion and that we have no use for them. Please try to get full particulars about all these persons and then ask the Agriculture Ministry as to how far they can be absorbed. We can also write to the States.

There is going to be a meeting of the National Development Council on the 19th of this month.¹⁴⁴ If you could send me particulars of these or any other persons, I could pass them on to the Chief Ministers who come then.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

53. To Morarji Desai: The Case of Dr Duraiswami¹⁴⁵

March 4, 1960

My dear Morarji,

Your letter of the 1st March¹⁴⁶ about Dr. Duraiswami.¹⁴⁷ As my PPS has put up a note on this subject, I am enclosing this note itself instead of writing to you at souse length.

I entirely agree with you that we should avoid duplication and unnecessary expense. This is largely due to the attitude taken up by the Institute in to this matter. As a matter of fact, the Institute just cannot start this course because it has not got the equipment etc. for it and probably it will take them a few years before they are ready. There does not appear to be any other course open than for Dr. Duraiswami to do this work in the Safdarjung Hospital and for the

143. Letter to Thacker, Director, CSIR.

144. The Fourteenth; record available at the Planning Commission website—planningcommission.gov.in/reports/genrep/50NDCs/vol1_1to14.pdf, accessed on 18 February 2014.

145. Letter to the Union Minister of Finance. File No. 2(280)/58-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

146. See Appendix 7.

147. Professor P.K. Duraiswami, Director, Central Institute of Orthopaedics, Safdarjung Hospital, New Delhi.

Institute to send their post-graduates to Dr. Duraiswami. It may be that somewhat later we can combine the two posts when conditions are more favourable.

I am anxious that Duraiswami should be able to do his post-graduate work which is considered of importance.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

54. To G.B. Pant: Bill on Raja Mahendra Pratap's Property¹⁴⁸

March 4, 1960

My dear Pantji,

Sampurnanand spoke to me on the telephone this morning about the Bill relating to Raja Mahendra Pratap's¹⁴⁹ old property.¹⁵⁰ He said that his Government had no objection to this Bill. He further said that this should be passed by the Central Legislature as it was in repeal of a Central Act. I had particularly told him that our lawyers were of opinion that this matter should now be dealt with by the U.P. Legislature.

He said that he had sent me a note on this subject. I have now received the note and I enclose it with his letter.

The note suggests some minor variations of Clause 6 of the Bill in order to make it more clear. I should have thought that this clause was clear enough.

The position thus is that both our Government and the U.P. Government approve of the Bill. The only question appears to be as to whether Parliament should pass it or the U.P. Legislature. Since the U.P. Government is clear that Parliament should pass it, I do not see why we should not do so. However, this matter might be cleared up by reference to our lawyers.

The Bill will come up again a fortnight hence and we might be ready for it by then.¹⁵¹

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

148. Letter.

149. Independent, Lok Sabha MP from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh.

150. Moved in the Lok Sabha by P.R. Patel, Mahagujarat Janata Parishad, Lok Sabha MP from Mehsana, Bombay State.

151. See item 65.

55. To Morarji Desai: LIC's Controversial Investments in Kasturi & Co.¹⁵²

Two or three days ago there was a question in Parliament about some LIC investments in Kasturi & Co. which apparently owns the *Hindu* newspaper in Madras.¹⁵³ It appeared that LIC had bought some shares or debentures in this company. Some Members raised objections to this and considered it as having some relation to politics. The answer given was that this was considered a good investment and looked at from that point of view. This did not satisfy the House and ultimately I got up and said that we would have this matter considered. Prima facie, it seems to me quite wrong for the LIC to make investments in newspapers which are inevitably connected with controversial politics. It is no good to say that the investment was considered sound. I hope you will be good enough to look into this matter.

56. In the Rajya Sabha: Economy Measures¹⁵⁴

Shri Ram Sahai:¹⁵⁵ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state the approximate amount saved during the years 1958-59 and 1959-60 through the economy measures suggested by the Organisation and Methods Division?

The Prime Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): O & M measures, while they are primarily designed to increase efficiency, are in general also conducive to economy. But it is not possible to state how much amount has been saved through such measures, because it is very often not practicable to assess the amount of economy secured as a result of a particular O & M measure, the economy being affected indirectly.

152. Note to the Finance Minister, 6 March 1960.

153. On 3 March by Rameshwar Tantia. See *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXIX, cols 3907-3910.

154. Written answers to questions, 8 March 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVIII, cols 3073-3074.

155. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Madhya Pradesh.

[A COMMISSION TO DIAGNOSE ILLNESS]

You Said It

By LAXMAN



Don't know if I heard him right—says he's unwell and want a commission to be appointed to find out what's wrong!

(From *The Times of India*, 4 March 1960, p. 1)

57. In the Rajya Sabha: Committee to Improve Administration¹⁵⁶

Shri V.K. Dhage:¹⁵⁷ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government propose to appoint a Committee to examine the steps to be taken to ensure speed, efficiency and integrity in the Administration at all levels; and

156. Oral Answers to questions, 8 March 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVIII, cols 3045-3048.

157. Independent, Rajya Sabha MP from Maharashtra.

(b) if so, who will be the members of the Committee?

The Prime Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): (a) and (b) No single Committee can usefully handle all the problems of work-simplification, organisation and checks, which are inherent in the all-embracing examination suggested in the question, but I am considering whether small internal groups cannot be set up to make detailed examinations of selected segments of administration, which need special attention.

Shri V. K. Dhage: May I know whether the Prime Minister had in the month of September, 1959 sent out a circular with regard to a particular procedure to be adopted in the Ministries regarding the disposal of files, etc.? That was in regard to what is known as the Whitehall system.

Mr. Chairman: Why the Whitehall system? We can have our own system.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I send frequent letters and circulars. I do not know to which particular circular the hon. Member is referring but if he is referring to what is called the work-study method to which I have drawn attention on several occasions and which we are following here and in some of our Foreign Missions with success—probably it was that I wrote about—well, that is a detailed study of a particular work so as to eliminate needless activities in it, save staff and save money. The difficulty is that that can be done only by highly trained personnel. We are training personnel but we have not got enough immediately to spread this in all the departments of Government. We are, however, getting more and more of these people trained and they have produced good results.

Shri V. K. Dhage: Did the Prime Minister issue a circular with regard to improvement in efficiency and speed in the administration? If so, may I know whether that circular which was sent out by him has been followed by the Ministries concerned?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Any circular which the Prime Minister sends out is always followed.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: No. It is another of the Prime Minister's illusions. At least in Bengal, I find they are not followed, some of them are not followed.

Shri N. M. Lingam:¹⁵⁸ May I know whether the proposals under contemplation for administrative reforms involve only changes in the rules and procedure or are they in the nature of more drastic changes involving devolution and delegation of powers at various levels?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: They involve both of course. The question of devolution of powers has been before us for a considerable time and in fact a good deal of devolution has taken place and more will take place. The rules and procedure are important because they delay and there are intermediate stages which may not be necessary. All that is under review. As a matter of fact, this matter interests the House, I can well understand it and it interests me greatly. I am constantly pursuing it. The Cabinet Secretary more specially is in charge of pursuing it and he reports to me from time to time so that we may get these changes effected as rapidly as possible

Shri N. M. Lingam: May I know the basis on which Government is going to initiate this reform? Have they the necessary material ready to effect the necessary changes in the rules and procedures and in other respects? I thought the question was about the appointment of a committee to look into the present bottlenecks so that the problem could be conceived properly and dealt with squarely.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have, in my answer, said that I do not think that that will lead to any useful result. No committee can go through this forest of procedure, volumes and volumes of it. It will get lost in this. I have found that the best way to deal with it is to select segments and put people knowing that segment plus others to examine it in a detailed way. Broad generalisation sometimes helps.

Dr. D. H. Variava: Is any detective work done in this matter of finding out the causes of delay? When we write letters, sometimes we do not receive any reply for months. Has the Ministry tried to send a letter to any department without revealing to the persons concerned that it had been sent for purposes of detection, and then tried to find out the reasons why the reply was delayed?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not aware as to whether that sort of detective procedure has been employed or not but the suggestion is worthy of

158. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Madras State.

consideration.

Shri V.K. Dhage: May I know whether there is any proposal before the Government to weed out personnel found to be very inefficient?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: That is very difficult, Sir. There are rules and there are questions in Parliament asking us as to why we have done this as soon as we try to do that.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: Even so we do not get much remedy.

May I know whether it is a fact that at the Ooty Seminar organised by the All-India Congress Committee, the Prime Minister spoke of these and related subjects and made certain suggestions?¹⁵⁹ If so, may I know whether those suggestions were followed up at the official level by him or by any of his colleagues through directives to the States?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: These are general questions. The hon. Member do not refer to particular suggestions. Whatever suggestions were made at the Ooty Seminar were circulated to the States and others. There has been correspondence; some I have no doubt, have been accepted while in regard to others there may be perhaps difficulties. I cannot give a detailed answer about the number of suggestions that were made in this matter.

Shri V. K. Dhage: Is it a fact that efficiency in the Government is suffering because of the fact that technical men have been put in charge of administration? If so, what does the Government propose to do in this connection?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am surprised at this question because my own experience is exactly the opposite of what the hon. Member says.

Mr. Chairman: We are asking questions about working groups and all that. Here, we know every side of the administration, here in this House. I said, "we", not "you".

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: Naturally, Sir; but I hope I am also included in that category of "we".

159. See SWJN/SS/49/item 2 and item 164; and SWJN/SS/50/item 1.

58. To Vishnu Sahay: Reorganising the Defence Ministry¹⁶⁰

The Defence Minister has sent me a note on administrative reorganisation with special reference to his own Ministry. The note is rather a long one. Nevertheless, I think that it should be circulated to the members of the Cabinet. In doing so, I think you might give his covering letter also.

2. Please send a copy to Secretary-General, External Affairs Ministry. Perhaps a copy might also be sent to the O & M Division. I believe that there is a committee under your Chairmanship thinking of various administrative procedures. They might also have a look at this note.

59. In the Lok Sabha: Plane Crash in Jorhat¹⁶¹

Mr. Speaker: An adjournment motion stands in the names of Shri Hem Barua and Shri S.M. Banerjee on the following subject:

“The reported plane-crash in Jorhat yesterday resulting in the death of two senior pilots.”

What is the position?

Shri S.M. Banerjee: This is a foreign plane, Sir.

Mr. Speaker: No, necessity for making a statement.

Shri D.C. Sharma: We have sent notice of a calling attention motion also on this.

Shri Raghunath Singh: And a short notice question also.

Mr. Speaker: Let me hear the hon. Minister's statement now, and hon. Members may feel it is an answer to all of them.

160. Note to the Cabinet Secretary, 10 March 1960. File No. 6/1/CF/60/ Part III, Cabinet Secretariat. See Appendix 20 for Krishna Menon's covering letter.

161. Adjournment motion, 11 March 1960, *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol XL, cols 5440-5444.

The Deputy Minister of Civil Aviation (Shri Mohiuddin):¹⁶² An aircraft called Twin Pioneer, belonging to British manufacturers, was on demonstration flight in India. It had gone on to the Assam side, and it crashed immediately it took off from Jorhat.¹⁶³ Both the British Captain Templeton, and Capt. Pinao¹⁶⁴ of the I.A.C. died in this accident. One officer had minor injuries. That is all the information that I have got about the accident that has taken place.

Shri S.M. Banerjee: May I read out from the morning's papers, so that he may know?

Mr. Speaker: There is no discussion on this. This is all the information the hon. Minister has. In addition to this, there is a short notice question and calling attention notice. The calling attention motion has not been put down on the Order Paper today. In the meanwhile, the hon. Minister will get some more information and answer the calling attention motion when it comes up.

Shri S.M. Banerjee: This is a foreign plane.

Shri Hem Barua: May I seek a clarification? May I know whether it is a fact that this plane was sent there to survey the feasibility of the air-dropping of food in NEFA, because of the fact that Air Commodore Lal¹⁶⁵ has said that NEFA is one of the most dangerous flying areas of the world? This is not a solitary or isolated incident of an air-crash in that area in NEFA or in Assam. In recent years, during two years there have been as many as two air-crashes, and we have lost some of our very good pilots, namely Pilot

162. Ahmed Mohiuddin (1896-1966); Deputy Minister in the Union Ministry of Transport and Communications, 1958-1962 .

163. A Twin Pioneer aircraft of the Scottish Aviation Company, while on an evaluation flight from Jorhat with Captain Templeton of the Scottish Aviation Company at the controls with two observers, Captain Pina of the Indian Airlines Corporation and Squadron Leader Hegde of the Indian Air Force, crashed on take-off near the airfield at about 3. 10 p.m. on 10 March 1960. Captain Templeton died on the spot, Captain Pina died later in hospital at 6. 50 p.m.; and Squadron Leader Hegde was reported recovering. See *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 11 March 1960.

164. Should read Pina; Captain Waseem Pina (1922-1960); worked in the Air Force, 1941-46; took to commercial flying with Mistri Airways, Deccan Airways, Bharat Airways, Indian Airlines.

165. Air Commodore P.C. Lal, General Manager, Indian Airlines Corporation, at this time.

Ganguli in the Taksing area¹⁶⁶ and Captain Pinto¹⁶⁷ here. In view of this, may I know whether Government have tried to examine or are going to examine the entire position and see whether planes that can be easily manoeuvred especially in the NEFA area can be introduced, and these age-old Dakotas or other such planes are replaced by these planes?

Shri S.M. Banerjee: I have one submission to make. According to the statement made by the hon. Minister, it appears that after we had given notice of this adjournment motion, no effort has been made to have more information. Here is a foreign plane, a foreign plane which was on demonstration...

Mr. Speaker: Order, order, it is no good pursuing this.

Shri S.M. Banerjee: Will you kindly refer to your own ruling...

Mr. Speaker: All that I wanted that the Minister should make a statement. He has got only this information now. He will make a fuller statement after he gets some more information. There is also a calling-attention-notice, and when it comes up, he will make a fuller statement.

Shri Mohiuddin: What fuller statement is necessary?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): May I say a word? As far as is known, this was, as the hon. Member said, a foreign plane. It has often come here, after taking our permission, for demonstration purpose, because they want to sell their planes and show that these can function properly. The pilots etc. were their own too. And it has met with this accident. How this accident occurred, we do not know. Of course that is a matter for the court of enquiry to consider and find out. For us to make any partial statements before the court of enquiry is over may mean creating an embarrassing situation for the other people concerned. I submit that it might be difficult. The fact is that here is a demonstration plane which was demonstrating that it could fly well in those areas. Well, it met with an accident. How the accident occurred etc. is a matter for the enquiry which is going to take place.

166. In Upper Subhansiri district, now in Arunachal Pradesh.

167. Should read Pina.

Mr. Speaker: Are they our senior pilots?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No, they are foreign pilots.

Shri Goray:¹⁶⁸ One of the pilots was an Indian. He was a Squadron Leader.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: There was one of our men accompanying them. The Plane was foreign, and the pilots were foreign. One of our pilots was accompanying them to see. And this particular man of ours is dangerously hurt. One or two others died.

Shri Goray: When the plane is doing a demonstration flight, do we put our pilots there even before the plane has demonstrated that it is a flying sort of plane? A very valuable life has been lost.

The Minister of Transport and Communications (Dr. P. Subbarayan): As a matter of fact, the pilot wanted to know himself what kind of aircraft this was, and whether it would be suitable for our purposes. Naturally, he went up in that plane. It does not mean that we sent him up. He went voluntarily of his own accord.

Shri S.M. Banerjee: One was an Air Force Pilot, and another was an I.A.C. pilot. Why should we have sent these senior pilots?

Mr. Speaker: Hon Members are trying to enter into technical matters. If a man purchases a motor car, he would send his driver also to see whether it is a car which can be driven or not. If he meets with an accident, he will never purchase that motor car at all.

Shri Hem Barua: It is a bad beginning.

Mr. Speaker: I do not think. (Interruptions). Order, order. Of course, I never knew that it was a foreign plane. If the hon. Minister had only said, as the Prime Minister had said, that this was a foreign plane which had come here for the purpose of giving a demonstration, I would not have allowed anything more.

168. N.G. Goray, PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Poona, Bombay State.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is not a new plane or a new type plane. It is a well-known type. It is not a new experiment. They were demonstrating on these hilly areas to show that they could fly there. And one of our own men went to see the demonstration.

Mr. Speaker: Very well, papers to be laid on the Table.

Shri Tyagi: ¹⁶⁹This matter may be finished first. What is your ruling with regard to this adjournment motion?

Mr. Speaker: My ruling is that I am not giving my consent to it.

60. Office Memorandum: Disinformation¹⁷⁰

In this morning's newspapers, there is a report of yesterday's meeting of our Informal Committee. It was previously decided that an authorised press note should be issued after the meeting and no other information should be given to the press by any member present.

2. An authorised press note has been issued. I find, however, that in addition to this, a fairly long account has appeared in the press from a so-called special correspondent. This is unfortunate, firstly, because it was decided not to give any such information. Secondly and, more importantly, this report is not at all correct. In particular, it is indicated in this that I was in favour of a considerable reduction in the food target. This is unfortunate because I did not express any opinion about this. I stated various approaches to this problem that some people had made.

3. This kind of information which gave a wrong and somewhat distorted view can only be given by someone present at the meeting. This gives a wrong impression and thereby creates some confusion in the public mind. I would beg the members of this informal Committee not to give any kind of report or account to the press about these meetings. Otherwise it becomes a little difficult to speak frankly as we want to do.

169. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Dehra Dun, Uttar Pradesh.

170. Note on the meeting of the Informal Committee of Members of Parliament on Planning, 12 March 1960. File No. 17(324)/58-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

61. To Bhagwan Sahay: Help Bureaucrats Buy Land for Housing¹⁷¹

March 12, 1960

My dear Bhagwan Sahay,

For many months past I have been receiving complaints from some of our senior-most officers in Government about their troubles in acquiring land for building houses for themselves. I have had deputations and often the facts they have stated have rather surprised and somewhat distressed me. Months and years pass before a decision is made by our Government and sometimes decisions are upset. Sometimes policies are followed which rather encourage the speculator and discourage the man who has shown some foresight, and so on and so forth. There are several Ministries of the Central Government dealing with this matter. In particular, I suppose, it is the Health Ministry or sometimes possibly the Home Ministry. I suppose the Chief Commissioner of Delhi also comes into the picture.

The Solicitor-General¹⁷² came to see me today and brought a bunch of his complaints. Previously our Secretary-General and the Comptroller & Auditor-General had come with their lot of grievances. And there are others.

I should like to meet you and have a talk with you on this subject to find out where things are and why decisions are not made at all or, when made, are upset later. In particular, I should like to know from you what the position is in regard to the Government Servants Cooperative Housing Society. I am not fixing any time to see you now because I am rather busy for the next few days. I shall let you know when you might come round. Perhaps it will be desirable when you come for K.V.K. Sundaram,¹⁷³ who is the President of that cooperative society, also to be present.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

171. Letter to the Chief Commissioner of Delhi.

172. C.K. Daphtary.

173. Chief Election Commissioner, 1958-1967.

62. To the Indian Air Force¹⁷⁴

I am glad that the Indian Air Force Day is being celebrated this year at Bombay. It is a good idea to have this annual celebration in different parts of the country and not always in Delhi.

The Air Force, like our Army and Navy, is not something isolated from our people, but is an intimate part of our national life. Our people should, therefore, have the chance of seeing it and getting to know something of the progress that it is making. This progress has been considerable during the past few years and I have no doubt that it is becoming more and more self-reliant in design and manufacture.

The primary task of the Air Force is the defence of the country and for this purpose it has to be always alert and vigilant as well as efficient. New responsibilities have to be shouldered by it. This became evident in recent months when dangers threatened us. Those dangers are not past. We rely with confidence on our Air Force to perform this patriotic task with all the enthusiasm and efficiency for which it has become noted.

I send my greetings and good wishes to the officers and men of the Air Force.

63. To K.C. Reddy: A House for V.T. Krishnamachari¹⁷⁵

March 17, 1960

My dear Reddy,

V.T. Krishnamachari, Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, is likely to retire from his present post some time rather early in May.¹⁷⁶ It is intended to get him nominated to the Rajya Sabha by the President.

The question now arises about a house for him to live in. He will leave his present rather largish house, and wants a smaller one. Although he can continue in his present house for some months after leaving the Planning Commission formally, he would prefer to change over earlier. This would enable him to shift his books, etc. to the new house. Of course, he will pay the normal rent, that is, the rent which MPs or officials pay.

174. Message, 14 March 1960. Forwarded through V. K. Krishna Menon. Published in the *National Herald* on 1 April 1960.

175. Letter to the Union Minister of Works, Housing and Supply. File No. 45(8)/57-65-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

176. Actually till 21 June 1960.

He will be entitled to a house under the MPs' Pool if such a house is available. He would prefer a house outside that pool, if possible. Could you kindly have this matter looked into? We should like to help him. Although he is retiring from the Deputy Chairmanship of the Planning Commission, he will continue to help us in Planning.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

64. To G.B. Pant: Employment for Technical Persons¹⁷⁷

March 18, 1960

My dear Pantji,

My attention was drawn by Chaman Lall to a number of qualified technical persons who could find no employment after their temporary employment in the American Pavilion in the World Agriculture Fair.¹⁷⁸ I referred this matter to Prof. Thacker who has sent me a long letter which is more or less summarised in my PPS's note.

I think that the present procedure for the pool is very dilatory and should be improved. Thacker might take these cases up directly with the Chairman of the U.P.S.C. He could also be put generally in charge of this matter.

As for the ceiling, I suppose we should have some kind of a ceiling in view though it may be flexible and could be liberalised if any special cases cannot otherwise be included.

Perhaps in your leisure you might read through this note.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

177. Letter to the Union Minister of Home Affairs.

178. See items 51 and 52 for Nehru's letters to Chaman Lall and M.S. Thacker on 3 March.

65. In the Lok Sabha: Raja Mahendra Pratap's Estates¹⁷⁹

MAHENDRA PARTAB¹⁸⁰ SINGH ESTATES (REPEALING) BILL—

Contd. by Shri P.R. Patel

Mr. Deputy Speaker: ¹⁸¹ The House will now resume further discussion of the motion moved by Shri Purushottamdas R. Patel on the 4th March, 1960:—

“That the Bill to provide for the repeal of the Mahendra Partab Singh Estates Act, 1923 be taken into consideration.”

Out of one hour allotted for the discussion of the Bill, 20 minutes have already been taken up on the 4th March, 1960 and 40 minutes are now available. Shri P.R. Patel may now continue his speech. He has already taken 20 minutes and now he will try to conclude.

Shri P.R. Patel: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the other day I was saying the Act of 1923 was passed and under that Act the properties of Raja Mahendra Partab were confiscated to His Majesty and vested in His Majesty and that by the same Act the properties were to be given to his son on some condition. It would be interesting to know the conditions. The conditions are:—

“That neither he nor his heirs shall during the lifetime of Mahendra Partab Singh alienate any of the said properties, that is to say, either the estate, right title, interest, claim and demand etc. without the sanction in writing of the Government of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.”

Then another condition is:

“That neither he nor his heirs shall render assistance or support to the said Mahendra Partab Singh either pecuniarily or otherwise in any manner whatsoever.”

So the properties were given to his son with the condition that he should not help his father by a single farthing. Furthermore, one condition is that he must remain loyal to the Government then. So these are the things to be taken into consideration.

179. Discussion on the motion, 18 March 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XL, cols 6839-6843.

180. Also spelt Pratap, Pratab.

181. Hukam Singh.

The point before us is whether this black law should remain on the statute book because in the Bill that I have moved in clause (2) I desire that the Act of 1923 should stand repealed. So the House shall have to consider whether this black Act would be an ornament to us and should be kept in our statute book or would it be proper to repeal that law. That is the first question that the House should consider.

Then the second question will be that the properties have been attached and confiscated to His Majesty. Then the Government for the loyalty of his son has given it to his son. But now the question is whether the properties should be divested and given over to Raja Mahendra Pratap. That is also a matter to be considered. Naturally, any man may feel that after all the properties are with the grandson today and why it should be divested and given over to him. That is not the question though. The question is that the properties were confiscated from him for what. It was for the act of patriotism and nothing more. Now if we return the properties to him, we amend the misdeeds of the Britishers. That, I submit, is the only point. I will not take more time.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I should like at this early stage in this discussion to state the Government's view point with regard to this Bill. With the basic object of this Bill, that is, to remove from the statute book a measure which we consider objectionable and certainly which cannot be approved of by any national government in this country, with that basic object we are in entire agreement. Broadly speaking, therefore, we agree not only with that object but the consequences of this Bill. What we have been considering is the proper way to bring this about. We referred this Bill to the Uttar Pradesh Government. They expressed their general agreement with the objects of the Bill. So there is no argument necessary on the merits, I might say. But certain difficulties have arisen about the Constitutional procedures which are feasible. Normally speaking, anything appurtenant to land is obviously in the purview of the State Government and not of the Central Government. It is in the list attached to the Constitution.

If it was only land, I would normally say, I do not speak with any absolute certainty, that this should be for the State Government to take up and deal with. This Bill, however, deals with not only immovable property but also movable property. That again introduces an element of confusion, because movable property might be dealt with in one way and immovable property possibly in another.

On the other hand, it might be argued that this being a statute of the Central

Government, it can only be repealed by the Central authority, not by a State authority.

In spite of my effort and my colleague's effort to get a very precise and clear decision on this subject, I mean to say, advice on this subject, a measure of doubt remains as to what the proper procedure is, which might not be challenged later, because we should not take a step which might be challenged on constitutional or legal grounds.

There are one or two other smaller matters too, that is, possibly, some small amendments might be more helpful and might improve Bill, again, so far as the law is concerned. But the basic question is what I have just stated and I want to place before you and the House.

I should like, perhaps, that other Members can throw some light on this as to how best to proceed, because we obviously are in favour of the Bill, but we are anxious that what is done should be correctly done, according to the Constitution and should not be challengeable in any court of law later on.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: If some time is required, then, perhaps, we can postpone the further discussion of the Bill till some future time, and then we can take it up. Meanwhile, these things can be thought out and some way found.

Shri P.R. Patel: That would be proper. I agree to the proposition.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Then, a regular motion might be made by the hon. Mover or some other Member.

Shri P.R. Patel: I beg to move:

“That consideration of the Bill be postponed till Government consider the matter and come before the House.”

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: That might not be proper form of the motion. He should not say ‘till Government consider’ etc. He might merely move that the further consideration of the Bill be postponed till, say the, 15th April or any other date that he may like.

Shri Khushwaqt Rai:¹⁸²He may say, till the first day of the next session.

182. PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Kheri, UP.

Mr. Ansar Harvani:¹⁸³ Yes, till the 1st day of the next session.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I have no objection.

The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs (Shri Satya Narayan Sinha): We have no objection.

Shri P. R. Patel: I beg to move:

“That further consideration of the Bill be postponed till the first day of the next session.”

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The question is:

“That further consideration of the Bill be postponed till the first day of the next session.”

The motion was adopted

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: So, the further consideration of the Bill is postponed. Now, we shall take up the next Bill. But there is one thing that I would like to mention. The motion that we have adopted is to take up further consideration on the first day of the next session. That would be a Government day. It would not be necessarily a non-official day. Therefore, we shall take it up on that day.

66. To G. B. Pant: Reemploying the Retrenched¹⁸⁴

March 19, 1960

My dear Pantji,

I am sorry to trouble you. But I think I had better send the attached paper to you directly. A large number of Class III and Class IV employees who are being retrenched from the Ministry of Rehabilitation came to my house a few days ago. I do not like these crowds. I told them to go back. They did so. This morning, two of them came with the attached paper. I told them that obviously we cannot continue the various departments of the Ministry of Rehabilitation when there is no more work, so there was no help for it and people had to be retrenched. But such persons who were retrenched could be kept in mind for

183. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Fatehpur, UP.

184. Letter.

future employment. They pointed out to me that some rule or interpretation made by the Home Ministry keeps them out from being considered because their office was considered a subordinate office. I do not understand this. Many of them have been in service for eight or nine years and we should at least keep them in our list for employment and give them a chance when it occurs.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

67. To G. B. Pant: The Bhopal Succession¹⁸⁵

March 20, 1960

My dear Pantji,

I have received the following telegram from Abida Sultana,¹⁸⁶ the elder daughter of the late Nawab of Bhopal:

“I am given to understand there are no legal or constitutional objections to my succession to the gaddi of Bhopal. Am making representation to Your Excellency and the Government of India for favour of consideration. Would like to personally discuss matter with Government of India and Your Excellency at an early date. Letter follows.”

This has come from Rawalpindi. I am merely informing you of this.¹⁸⁷ If she wishes to see me, I shall tell her that I am prepared to meet her. For the present, I shall await her letter.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

185. Letter.

186. (1913-2002); eldest daughter of Nawab Hamidullah Khan of Bhopal; migrated to Pakistan, 1950; joined Pakistan Foreign Service, Ambassador to Brazil; President, Karachi Council, Muslim League.

187. On 4 March, Nehru had forwarded to Pant a letter of 2 March 1960 from Kailas Nath Katju, the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, on this matter. See Appendix 12.

68. To B. Gopala Reddi: A Building for the Indian Adult Education Association ¹⁸⁸

23 March, 1960

My dear Gopala Reddi,

I am writing to you as Morarjibhai is not here.¹⁸⁹ When he comes here, I hope you will place this letter before him.

For a long time now this building for the Indian Adult Education Association has been lying there in an unfinished condition. It is very unsightly and of course it is a waste of money to leave anything unfinished. I was somewhat connected with the matter as I laid the foundation stone. But apart from this, the Indian Adult Education Association has done very good work in the past and has been well spoken of for its work. It appears to me that they made some mistakes and have done something without proper authorisation. They should not have done this.

Anyhow, the present position is unsatisfactory and to leave it where it is will not be good and work will suffer. The previous idea was to put up a four-storey structure. This can be reduced to two storeys. Anyhow, it would be desirable to finish it and make it of some use.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

69. To Sham Nath: Inaugural Junkets on Air India Boeings ¹⁹⁰

March 23, 1960

Dear Sham Nathji,

I have your letter of March 21st.¹⁹¹

So far as I have been able to find out, no one is going from India to participate in the inaugural flight of the Air India International Boeings from the United States or the UK to India. These flights are from the UK and the USA to India and not from India to other countries.

188. Letter to the Union Minister of State for Revenue and Civil Expenditure.

189. Morarji Desai had gone to Europe, the USA and Japan.

190. Letter to Sham Nath, Leader of the Congress party in the Corporation of Delhi.

191. See Appendix 47.

I am told that most of the invitees will be foreign guests. A few members of our Missions abroad are also being invited to come here on this occasion as well as, perhaps, some representatives of travel agencies.

In any event, such flights cannot be used for regular visits to foreign countries to carry on inspection tours and the like.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

70. To V.T. Krishnamachari: Mahalanobis's Official Position¹⁹²

March 23, 1960

My dear VT,

For some time past, we have been considering Professor Mahalanobis's position in the Planning Commission. I think I mentioned this to you once and probably Cabinet Secretary, Vishnu Sahay has also spoken to you about it.

Mahalanobis has been a de facto Member of the Planning Commission. This position, although on the whole satisfactory, yet has been somewhat anomalous. At the same time, he continues to be the Director of the Indian Statistical Institute and draws some salary from it. Also he is Honorary Statistical Adviser to the Cabinet.

After some discussion, it is felt that it would be desirable to appoint Professor Mahalanobis a full time Member of the Planning Commission but that he should draw no remuneration, and he will consider himself bound by the provisions of the Official Secrets Act. He will continue to be the Director of the Indian Statistical Institute as well as Honorary Statistical Adviser to the Cabinet.

In effect the position remains much the same as it is today with a slight variation. I am asking Cabinet Secretary to take the necessary steps in this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

192. Letter to the Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission. File No. 38(15)/56-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

71. To Rajendra Prasad: Mahalanobis's Official Position¹⁹³

March 23, 1960

My dear Mr President,

Professor Mahalanobis has been a de facto Member of the Planning Commission for some years. The idea was that for all practical purposes he should function as a Member of the Planning Commission but should not be a full Member drawing salary, etc. At the same time, he has been the Director of the Indian Statistical Institute and the Honorary Statistical Adviser to the Cabinet.

This arrangement, though on the whole satisfactory, has not been entirely so. We have, therefore, given fresh thought to this matter, and it is now proposed to make a slight change which I indicate below.

Professor Mahalanobis to be made a full Member of the Planning Commission, but to draw no remuneration as such. He will be bound by the provisions of the Official Secrets Act. He will continue to be Director of the Indian Statistical Institute and draw salary from it. He will also continue to be the Honorary Statistical Adviser to the Cabinet. In effect, the change is a minor one, but it removes an anomaly that has thus far existed.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(ii) Corruption

72. To S.R. Das: A Tribunal or Commission to Deal with Corruption¹⁹⁴

March 2, 1960

My dear Mr. Das,

Thank you for your letter of the 25th February. The day after receiving this, I went to Calcutta and returned only this afternoon.

This whole question, which Deshmukh has raised is so vague that it is difficult for me to indicate what shape it might take.¹⁹⁵ I have no knowledge of

193. Letter to the President of India. File No. 38(15)-56-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection and File No. 135/59, President's Secretariat.

194. Letter to the Vice Chancellor of Visva-Bharati.

195. For Deshmukh's proposals, see SWJN/SS/54/item 66, SWJN/SS/55/items 44-50, SWJN/SS/57/items 52 and 53 and Appendix 18.

the charges that Deshmukh has in mind or of the persons concerned. But, of one thing I can assure you fully on my behalf. I cannot ask you to do anything which directly or indirectly might lower your prestige and dignity or the prestige and dignity of the Supreme Court of India over which you presided with such distinction.

There can be no question of any individual or tribunal sitting in judgment on your advice. As that advice will be given to me, the question will then arise for me to consider as to how to give effect to that advice, that is, if any further action is recommended by you, in what form that action should be taken. That would be a separate matter and would naturally depend on the nature of the charge and the advice given.

Thus, if the charge is connected with corruption or something like it and, in your opinion, a prima facie case appears to have been made, then obviously some steps have to be taken. If, however, the charge is one of impropriety and not of any kind of corruption, that is hardly a legal matter. It has to be judged from political canons and conventions and it will be for me to decide what steps I should take. In either event, what you tell me will carry great weight with me.

Normally the procedure in such cases, where charges are made, is more or less as follows. My attention is drawn to it. I ask the person against whom the charge of corruption or impropriety is made, to let me have his version of the matter. If this is satisfactory, I inform the person who has made the charge, of it. Usually the matter ends there. In a case of impropriety, that would depend on the nature of the impropriety. It may not be serious as conventions in these matters are rather vague. I issue some kind of a warning. Sometimes these facts are made public.

If, however, the charge is a more serious one, I might have it investigated by our Intelligence authorities and then decide what further steps should be taken.

In the present case, all that has happened is that Deshmukh has indicated that he has some evidence in his possession which he is prepared to place before a tribunal. He has not indicated the names of the persons concerned or even the place. Thus, it was not possible for me to trace the particular incidents to which he referred and I know nothing about them. When I asked Deshmukh for particulars, he said that he was not prepared to give them as this might get his informants into trouble. Thereafter I told him that he need not mention to me the names of his informants. Even so, he was not prepared to send me any further particulars. When I wrote to him suggesting that I might request you to look into these matters, he agreed to send the information he possessed to you. That is how the matter stands.

I do not know how you would like to proceed in this matter. That is entirely for you to decide. Presumably the person against whom a charge is brought will be asked to submit his explanation. After that you will decide what further steps, if any, are necessary.

Normally, in cases of what might be called impropriety, the facts are seldom in doubt. The only question that arises is if on the basis of those facts any impropriety has been committed.

It is difficult for me to answer on behalf of Deshmukh. But I cannot conceive of his not accepting the advice that you might give. After all, all he says is that he has certain facts in his possession which deserve enquiry. Neither he nor anyone else can come to a decision on a one-sided version. But I repeat that I shall be no party to anything that might even remotely affect your prestige and dignity.

In the last paragraph of your letter, you refer to the University Grants Commission and Visva-Bharati. I do not think you need to worry about this.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

73. To C.D. Deshmukh: Thyagaraja College Land Acquisition¹⁹⁶

March 3, 1960

My dear Deshmukh,

Please refer to your letter dated 25th February 1960 about the case of the acquisition of land for the Thyagaraja College in Madurai.

I followed your suggestion and wrote on this subject to Shri V.V. Giri,¹⁹⁷ Shri Sri Prakasa¹⁹⁸ and the Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University.¹⁹⁹ I also wrote to the Chief Minister of Madras.²⁰⁰ I also found some papers in connection with this matter among old files, when Shri Karumuttu Thyagarajan²⁰¹ and

196. Letter to the Chairman, UGC. Different spellings have been used for both the College and the person : Thyagaraja, Thiagaraja, Thiagarajar, Thiagaraya, Theagaraya, Thiagarajan.

197. Governor of UP.

198. Governor of Bombay State.

199. See Appendix 38 for A.L. Mudaliar's letter to C.D. Deshmukh of 17 March on the subject.

200. For letter to Kamaraj, see SWJN/SS/57/item 54.

201. Freedom fighter and industrialist from Madurai, established many educational institutions.

others had written to me on this subject. I had then, referred the matter to the Chief Minister of Madras Shri Kamaraj and he had replied to me giving me certain facts about the case.

Shri Sri Prakasa could not help me at all as he had no recollection of the matter. Giri spoke to me about it, but added nothing further to my information. The Vice-Chancellor Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, sent me a letter giving some facts. The Chief Minister has also written to me again. Today I happened to meet Subramaniam, the Minister of Education in Madras, and discussed this matter with him.

I have gone through all these papers with some care. It appears that the first application for the acquisition of land was made by Shri K. Thyagarajan in 1949. He wanted to acquire 59 and odd acres for the college which, he had already started building on his own property. A draft notification under the Land Acquisition Act was issued in August 1951. Consequent on the issue of this notification, a number of persons who were owners of the lands proposed to be acquired put in their objections. One of the main objections was that this was an industrial area having many factories and the acquisition of land in that area would be harmful to some of these factories. The matter was considered by the Madras Cabinet, during the Chief Ministership of Shri C. Rajagopalachari, and after consideration of the facts, the Cabinet passed the following order on the 50th December 1952:

“The question of acquisition should be re-examined with a view to ascertain whether it will be sufficient if survey Nos. 229, 230, 237, 238 and 239 are acquired.”

This would limit the land to be acquired to 27.15 acres. The Collector of Madurai was asked to contact Shri Thyagarajan and find out from him definitely whether he would take the 27 acres only and look for the balance of the land he required elsewhere. Shri Thyagarajan was told that if he was not agreeable to this course, the entire proposal for acquisition would be dropped. Shri Thyagarajan did not give a specific reply, and the matter dragged on for years, indeed up to 1959.

About that time Shri Thyagarajan and the other parties concerned agreed to abide by the decision of the Chief Minister with regard to the extent of the land to be acquired and the price to be paid for it. After examining this fully, the Chief Minister suggested to Shri Thyagarajan that he should limit the acquisition of land to the original proposal of the Cabinet, that is, 27 acres, and the price prevailing during the year 1951-52 should be accepted. This price was suggested in accordance with the report of the Collector of Madurai.

Shri Thyagarajan neither accepted nor rejected this proposal and, according to the Chief Minister, went on making all kinds of representations and allegations

to the effect that Government was trying to favour somebody. The Chief Minister wrote to me on the 5th January 1959 that he had tried his best "to help Shri Thyagarajan, but he has been too obstinate to accept any reasonable suggestion made by the Government". In these circumstances, the Chief Minister said, the Government had decided to withdraw the pending acquisition proceedings. Even so, alternative sites for acquisition were suggested, and it was stated that, action could be taken under the emergency provisions of the Land Acquisition Act.

I have only given the broad facts above. There were some other developments during this period. In February 1959 Shri Thyagarajan filed a writ of Mandamus in the High Court of Madras. I find that in some papers reference is made to 100 acres being required for the campus.

It would thus appear that the Government of Madras under Shri Rajagopalachari's Chief Ministership was prepared to acquire 27 acres for the college. The present Government of Madras was also prepared to acquire this at a fair price which prevailed in 1951-52. But Shri Thyagarajan was not agreeable to this. Instead, he went on accusing the Madras Government of partiality and unfair dealing. I am told that his application to the High Court is full of such personal charges against the Chief Minister or the Government of Madras. Apparently it was thought that because part of the land belonged to a Congress MLA, these difficulties had arisen.

I do not myself find any fact or reason in support of this allegation. 27 acres of land in the heart of a growing city, the second city in Madras, is a very large area, taken together with the present land of the college, this amounts to about 40 acres. I cannot conceive of any large city finding 40 acres of land in the midst of a developing area for a college. Normally, if more land is needed for playgrounds, it is taken outside the city. I should have thought, however, that 40 acres was adequate anyhow. If it was not so, other land could be acquired further away. It is exceedingly difficult to stop the growth of a big city.

There may be two opinions about the extent of the land required. But for Shri Thyagarajan to bring personal charges against the Chief Minister appears to have no justification. The general impression I get from all the papers and correspondence which I have read is that Shri Thyagarajan is a generous and philanthropic person, but is also rather obstinate. He has himself created some of the difficulties that he is facing.

At the present moment I can well understand, after the writ in the High Court, that the Chief Minister is not particularly pleased with Shri Thyagarajan.

The Chief Minister is naturally much put out by the charges and accusations made against him and his Government. So far as I can judge, the writ of

Mandamus has little justification. A matter of this kind cannot be solved in this way and by running each other down.

We have been concerned for the last two or three years with the town planning of Greater Delhi. The planners, who are both Indians and Americans, have laid down all manner of conditions about land being given or not given in particular places in the city. New colleges are being started in Delhi without much land attached to them.

As, in my opinion, Shri Thyagarajan has been less than fair to the Chief Minister, it is difficult for me to bring any pressure to bear on the latter, especially as long as the High Court proceedings continue. The best course appears to be for the people concerned to meet and come to agreement. That agreement can only be based on the original proposal of 27 acres being acquired. You will notice that this figure of 27 acres was fixed when Rajaji was Chief Minister. It has nothing to do with the present Ministry.

I have asked Subramaniam, the Education Minister of Madras, to meet you in this connection. I have also suggested to him that some effort should be made to settle this matter.

You have suggested in your letter of the 25th February that this question might be referred to Shri S.R. Das for his opinion. I do not quite know what to refer to him as there is no legal point involved. Apart from this, I am quite sure he would not agree because of the High Court proceedings.²⁰²

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

74. In the Lok Sabha: Jeep Case²⁰³

Question:²⁰⁴ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state the latest position about the 'Jeep Case' filed by Government of India in the U.K.?²⁰⁵

202. For Deshmukh's reply of 9 March, see Appendix 21.

203. Oral answers to questions, 4 March 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXIX, cols 4152-4154.

204. By Congress MP V.C. Shukla, and PSP MPs Khushwaqt Rai and B.C. Mullick.

205. This refers to the supply of reconditioned jeeps from a British firm in 1948. See also SWJN/SS/16 Pt. I, pp. 263-265, item 1; SWJN/SS/17/ pp. 498-499, item 3; and SWJN/SS/42/p. 314, item 27.

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): According to information available at present, the Jeep Case is likely to come up for hearing in May 1960.

Shri Vidya Charan Shukla:²⁰⁶ On 28th November 1958 it was stated that the inspection of documents connected with this case was completed and it was likely to come up for hearing in early 1959. Now it is stated that it is going to come up for hearing much later. May I know the specific reasons for the delay in the hearing of the case?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): How can we go into law's delays?

Shri Raghunath Singh: May I know whether the issues have been framed in this case or not?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is likely to come up for hearing in May, pretty soon. A great deal must have been done, I cannot say precisely. The issues must have been framed.

Shri Vidya Charan Shukla: May I know whether any attempts has been made by the Government of India to settle this case out of court?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No particular attempt has been made, but we told our counsel that if suitable opportunities arise to consider this matter, it might be considered.

Shri U. C. Patnaik:²⁰⁷ In view of the fact that a number of transactions had been entered into with this firm with £100 capital and there have been so many reports of the Public Accounts Committee and of the Auditor-General, in view of those facts, may I know whether Government propose to place on the Table of the House information about the transactions with this firm and the position of the case?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is rather an extraordinary question and I am sure the hon. Member knows the answer,

206. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Baloda Bazar, Madhya Pradesh.

207. Independent, Lok Sabha MP from Ganjam, Orissa.

Shri N. R. Muniswamy:²⁰⁸ May I know whether it is a fact that the defendant has made a counter claim which, if allowed, will absorb the entire claim made by us?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, Sir. They have made a counter claim.

Shri U. C. Patnaik: Even though I know the answer, I want to know whether the Government is prepared to place on the Table of the House the facts of the case and the position in which it is now.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot understand a question of this kind. Here is a matter which has been discussed in this House for the last four or five years. We have discussed it, we have made statements, we have appointed committees and what not. There are a number of papers about it, innumerable, and I do not know how to sort them out; some are secret, some are confidential and some are not. Obviously, we cannot undertake to do it.

Shri Vidya Charan Shukla: What is the subscribed capital of this firm against which we have instituted legal proceedings and what is the extent of the claim that the Government have made against this firm?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member has referred to numerous statements that have been made in this House. I cannot go into the details of it. If a specific question....

Mr. Speaker: What is the amount of the claim in this case?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: £ 254,498-4-0.

Shri Braj Raj Singh:²⁰⁹ What is the subscribed capital of the firm?

Mr. Speaker: I have already allowed a number of questions.

208. N.R. Muni Swamy [Muniswamy], Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Vellore, Madras State.

209. Socialist Party, Lok Sabha MP from Firozabad, Uttar Pradesh.

75. To CPP: Corruption Cases²¹⁰

SCRUTINY OF CASES OF CORRUPTION PROPOSAL TO SET UP VIGILANCE COMMITTEE NEHRU IN FAVOUR: CONGRESS M.P.s' DISCUSSION

New Delhi,
March 4.

Prime Minister Nehru is understood to have told the Congress Parliamentary Party meeting here today that the idea of appointing a vigilance committee to scrutinise cases of corruption and his formulating a code of conduct to be observed by Ministers appealed to him and "deserved consideration."

A suggestion that a vigilance committee consisting of Mr. P.N. Saprú,²¹¹ Sardar Hukam Singh and a convener should be appointed to scrutinise complaints of corruption sent to the Prime Minister, and also complaints received directly from the public to see whether a prima facie case existed, was made by Mr. Feroze Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi also urged that the Prime Minister should formulate a code of conduct to be strictly observed by his colleagues.

Mr. Nehru, it is learnt, said that the idea appealed to him and they should think about it. He pointed out that even if they drew up a code of conduct there would be many things which might not be mentioned in it but which could be indulged in by people.

Mr. Nehru is understood to have stated categorically that he had no knowledge of any specific charges made against Ministers or high officials either by Mr. C.D. Deshmukh, Former Finance Minister, or anyone else. He was replying to Mr. M.R. Krishna²¹² who wanted to know whether reports appearing in newspapers that specific charges against his Cabinet colleagues had been brought to his notice was correct.

CONDUCT OF MINISTERS & OFFICERS

When another member, Dr. Sushila Nayyar,²¹³ referred to a complaint by a Government official that different yardsticks were applied to determine the conduct of Ministers and officers, Mr. Nehru, it is learnt, said "The yardstick

210. Report of the CPP meeting, 4 March 1960. From *The Hindu*, 5 March 1960.

211. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from UP.

212. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Karimnagar, Andhra Pradesh.

213. Dr Sushila Nayar, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Jhansi, UP.

observed for the code of conduct in the case of public men is much more strict than in the case of service men. People in service are protected by all kinds of rules while public men have no such protection." He, however, expressed the view that high officers in our Government compared favourably with their counterparts in other countries.

Apart from corruption, the two subjects which figured at today's two-hour meeting were organisational elections including the choice of party candidates for the Rajya Sabha elections and taxation proposals in the budget.

Speaking on corruption Mr. Feroze Gandhi said that the prerequisite for successful functioning of democracy was respect for the Rule of Law. The public had a right to know whether highly placed persons conformed to accepted standards, of public behaviour. They should draw a distinction between the legality of action and its propriety. Though an action of a Minister may be perfectly legal, yet it might be highly improper. As an instance he pointed out how President Eisenhower had to remove the Secretary of the Air Force in the U.S. from office because he had used Government stationery for business purposes. If cases of impropriety were proved or brought to the notice of the leadership the severity of the punishment must be in keeping with the kind of obligation that had been violated said Mr. Gandhi.

PERMANENT TRIBUNAL IDEA OPPOSED

Mr. Gandhi opposed the idea of setting up a permanent Tribunal to enquire into corruption charges. But he said Government should do something to check corruption. The kind of tribunal suggested by Mr. Deshmukh would be, in Mr. Gandhi's opinion, one in which the function of the Judge and the prosecutor would be combined. This did not conform their legal system.

Mr. Feroze Gandhi said that at the Bangalore session of the Congress, Prime Minister Nehru had said that there was a lot of talk of corruption.²¹⁴ He observed that the Prime Minister "being a man of outstanding ability" should know that the tongue was the most difficult thing to control.

The talk that they were hearing today of corruption, Mr. Gandhi said, "is the cumulative impact of accumulated grievances which at times finds expression in terms of corruption." Time had come for Government to realise this and act.

While Mr. P.N. Rajabhoj²¹⁵ criticised the suggestion to appoint a permanent tribunal to enquire into cases of corruption, Dr. Sushila Nayyar described it as

214. See SWJN/SS/56/item 20.

215. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Bombay State.

“witch hunting”. She said that she was echoing the views of many of her colleagues in the party when she said that such sweeping statements should not be made by Congressmen. She felt that there were “black sheep” in the Congress fold and others should be protected from them.

SELECTION OF CONGRESS CANDIDATES

A bitter attack on the way in which selection of candidates for the Congress Party elections were made, and also the way they were conducted was made by Mr. Feroze Gandhi. He referred in particular to the selection of candidates for the Rajya Sabha elections and said that one or two deserving candidates had been dropped out for no valid reason. The way in which organisational elections were held, Mr. Gandhi said, had resulted in the “loss of many reputations”. There seemed to be no principle whatever behind the selection of candidates for the Rajya Sabha or the Legislative Council. He observed that in many cases the person’s suitability for the job seemed to have become his “sole disqualification”, he added. “Perspective comes with the passage of time. But it appears that with the passage of time the vision of the leadership is getting dimmed.”

On taxation proposals in the budget, Mr. Rajabhoj criticised the duties on cycle parts and shoe heels saying that it would badly hit the common man. Mr. Osman Ali Khan²¹⁶ gave elaborate figures of total number of rims and wheels manufactured in the country to show how the duty on cycle parts would fetch much more revenue than what was estimated in the Budget. It would affect the poor man.

At the outset, Prime Minister Nehru referred to the earthquake disaster at Agadir, Morocco,²¹⁷ and appealed to members to associate themselves with the appeal for relief issued by the A.I.C.C.

216. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Kurnool, Andhra Pradesh.

217. On 29 February 1960.

76. In the Lok Sabha: Appointment of a Permanent Tribunal²¹⁸

न्यायाधिकरण की नियुक्ति

प्रश्न :²¹⁹ क्या प्रधानमंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि : (क) क्या यह सच है कि भूतपूर्व वित्त मंत्री, श्री सी.डी. देशमुख ने उन्हें मंत्रियों तथा उच्च अधिकारियों से सम्बन्धित भ्रष्टाचार के मामलों की जांच के लिये एक न्यायाधिकरण की नियुक्ति का सुझाव दिया है: (ख) क्या यह भी सच है कि श्री देशमुख ने इस प्रस्तावित न्यायाधिकरण के आगे भ्रष्टाचार के कुछ उदाहरण रखने का भी प्रस्ताव किया है: (ग) क्या सरकार ने ऐसा न्यायाधिकरण नियुक्त करने से पहले श्री देशमुख द्वारा लगाये गये आरोपों के बारे में उनसे जानकारी प्राप्त करने का कोई प्रयत्न किया है : और (घ) यदि हाँ, तो सरकार द्वारा इस विषय में क्या कार्यवाही की गई है?

[Translation begins:

Appointment of a Tribunal

Question:²²⁰ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) Is it a fact that former Finance Minister Shri C.D. Deshmukh has suggested to him to appoint a tribunal to enquire into cases of corruption concerning Ministers and senior officials:
- (b) Is it also a fact that Shri Deshmukh has also proposed to present cases of corruption before this proposed tribunal:
- (c) Has the Government tried to get details of the charges made by Shri Deshmukh before appointing such a tribunal: and
- (d) If yes, what action has been taken by the Government?

Translation ends]

The Prime Minister and External Affairs Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):

(a) to (c) Shri C.D. Deshmukh has publicly stated that there should be a permanent tribunal to enquire into cases of corruption. He has further said that

218. Oral answers to questions, 9 March 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XL, cols 4838-4848.

219. By Congress MPs Harish Chandra Mathur, Hem Raj, Mohan Swarup, A.M. Tariq; PSP MPs Khushwaqt Rai, Hem Barua; CPI MPs A.K. Gopalan, T.C. Narayanankutty Menon; Independent MPs Prakash Vir Shastri and Ramgarib.

220. See fn 219 in this section.

if such a tribunal was appointed, he would be able to place some cases before them for their consideration. The Prime Minister has had some correspondence with Shri C.D. Deshmukh on this subject. Shri Deshmukh was not prepared to give particulars of any case or any individual involved in it. He stated, however, the type and general nature of the cases he had in mind.

(d) Government are of opinion that the appointment of a permanent tribunal, as suggested, would not be feasible or desirable. Where, however, any charge of substance was made, every effort should be made to enquire into it and further to expedite the disposal of such cases.

श्री प्रकाश वीर शास्त्री:²²¹ पीछे प्रधानमंत्री जी ने एक प्रेस कांफ्रेंस में पंजाब के मुख्यमंत्री और सम्बन्धित मंत्रियों के सम्बन्ध में जांच का आश्वासन दिया था। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि अब तक इस सम्बन्ध में क्या कार्रवाई हुई है।

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : मुझे याद नहीं पड़ता। आप क्या कह रहे हैं कि पंजाब के मुख्यमंत्री के बारे में मैंने कहा था?

श्री प्रकाश वीर शास्त्री : पीछे एक प्रेस कांफ्रेंस में आप ने यह कहा था कि पंजाब के मुख्यमंत्री तथा अन्य कुछ मंत्रियों के सम्बन्ध में आप जांच करायेंगे। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि अब तक इस सम्बन्ध में क्या प्रगति हुई है।

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : मुझे तो याद नहीं कि मैंने ऐसा कहा था, मैंने जो कहा था, जहां तक मुझे याद है, वह यह था कि मेरे पास कुछ शिकायतें आई हैं। मैं उनकी जांच करा रहा हूँ। यह कहा था मैंने,²²² और दो-तीन बातें आई थीं मेरे पास। कोई कार्रवाई करने के लिये भी कुछ बुनियाद होनी चाहिए, कुछ इत्मीनान होना चाहिए, तब अगला कदम उठाया जाता है, या नहीं उठाया जाता है अगर न हो उठाने लायक। जो कुछ मैंने कहा था उसकी मैं काफी देखभाल करवा रहा हूँ।

श्री प्रकाश वीर शास्त्री : मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या माननीय राष्ट्रपति ने भी इस प्रकार के किसी ट्रिब्यूनल के लिये प्रधानमंत्री को सुझाव दिया है?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : जी नहीं।

221. Independent, Lok Sabha MP from Gurgaon, Punjab.

222. See SWJN/SS/57/item 3.

[Translation begins:

Shri Prakash Vir Shastri:²²³ Earlier in a press conference, the Prime Minister had given assurances of conducting enquiries into allegations against Punjab Chief Minister and his Ministers. I want to know what action has been taken in this matter.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not remember. You are saying that I had said this about the Chief Minister of Punjab?

Shri Prakash Vir Shastri: You had said in a press conference some time back that you will enquire into some allegations against the Chief Minister and and some other Ministers of Punjab. I want to know what progress has been made in this matter.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I don't remember saying so. As far as I remember, it was this, that I have received some complaints, and I am getting them examined.²²⁴ And I had said that two-three points were brought to my notice. For initiating any action, there should be some basis, something substantial; then next step is taken, or not taken if it is not required to be taken. Whatever I had said, I am getting it enquired into.

Shri Prakash Vir Shastri: I want to know if Honourable President has also suggested to the Prime Minister for appointing some such tribunal?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No.

Translation ends]

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh :²²⁵ May I know whether on being acquainted by the Prime Minister that it is not feasible to appoint such a tribunal, Shri C.D. Deshmukh has offered to give any case or not?

Mr. Speaker: He has said that he is prepared to give categories. He has got only the categories now.

223. See fn 221 in this section.

224. See fn 222 in this section.

225. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Sasaram, Bihar.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : I have said that he has not mentioned the name of any individual or the name of any place, I mean, any particulars about the case. What he has mentioned is the categories or types of cases that he had in mind.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur :²²⁶ May I know what Shri C.D. Deshmukh's objections are to placing the real facts and the names of the individuals, before Government, and whether he has indicated any reasons in his letter?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : That is rather difficult for me to answer, but he did state that he was not prepared to do so because he did not wish to put his informants into a difficult or embarrassing position. Thereafter, I had said I do not want to know the names of your informants, you need not tell me the names of the informants but only the other particulars about the case, so that I can enquire, because obviously it is not possible for me to enquire if I know nothing about the matter.

Shri Hem Barua : In view of the fact that very serious charges are made by Shri C.D. Deshmukh against persons, high officials and Ministers, what positive steps do Government propose to take to remove the lurking suspicion in the minds of the people, because the statement is made by a man of the stature of Shri C.D. Deshmukh?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : I am not aware of a single charge yet. I shall gladly take steps if I knew of the charge, but merely saying that people high up or low down are bad is not a charge against any individual.

सेठ गोविन्द दास :²²⁷ देशमुख साहब जिस तरह का एक ट्रिब्युनल बनवाना चाहते हैं, दुनिया के किसी भी देश में इस तरह का क्या कोई ट्रिब्युनल है?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : सारी दुनिया का तो मुझे इल्म नहीं है।

सेठ गोविन्द दास : खास-खास मुल्क जहां कि इस तरह के ट्रिब्युनल कायम करने की कार्यवाही हुई हो?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : मैंने तो सुना नहीं कि कहीं पर ऐसी कार्यवाही की गई हो।

226. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Pali, Rajasthan.

227. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Jabalpur, MP.

श्री खुशवक्त राय : क्या प्रधानमंत्री महोदय इस बात पर तैयार हैं कि श्री देशमुख के साथ जो उन का पत्र व्यवहार हुआ है उसको सभा पटल पर रख देने की कृपा करेंगे?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : जी नहीं, मैं तैयार नहीं हूँ कि जब इस तरह का कोई निजी पत्र व्यवहार हो तो उसको शाया किया जाये।

[Translation begins:

Seth Govind Das:²²⁸ The kind of tribunal Deshmukh Saheb wants to have here, does any country of the world has any such tribunal?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I don't know about the rest of the world.

Seth Govind Das: Is there any particular country where this kind of tribunal has been established?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have not heard of this being done anywhere.

Shri Khushwaqt Rai: Is the Prime Minister ready to place his correspondence with Shri Deshmukh in this connection on the Table of the House?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No Sir, I am not ready to publish this type of personal correspondence.

Translation ends]

Shri H.N. Mukerjee : Apart from the safeguards which are necessary for informants, since there is a feeling that a tribunal with judicial status is very much more capable of commanding the confidence of the country rather than this sort of inquiry which, administratively speaking, the Prime Minister may conduct, may I know if the Prime Minister will consider this matter more seriously in view of the very serious charges being bruited about,—rightly or wrongly, we do not know?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : I would beg the hon. Member to consider that first of all when he talks about an administrative inquiry, that is merely meant as a

228. See fn 227 in this section.

preliminary inquiry to take some steps. That is not the end-inquiry. If any charge is made, any odd charge is made, one does not immediately rush to a court of law; one has to inquire into it whether there is any prima facie basis for it, before anything else can be done. If there is none, it drops there; if there is, we proceed further.

As for the other matter, I really submit to you and to the House that it is an extraordinary position. People talk vaguely about these matters without specifying them, and I am afraid I am not clairvoyant enough to see further into their minds.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: As the allegations which have been reported to have been made by Shri C.D. Deshmukh include some of the Ministers, as has been mentioned in the House, and since, though he had been asked to acquaint or let the Prime Minister know of the nature of the cases, he has not so far given anything, will you consider the utility of calling Shri C.D. Deshmukh to the House, because some of the Members who are Ministers are involved in such cases?

Mr. Speaker: Myself calling Shri C.D. Deshmukh?

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: Yes; he should either substantiate or withdraw those charges.

Mr. Speaker: Very well. (Interruptions) The suggestion is transferred from the Prime Minister to this House itself. The Prime Minister is asked to appoint a tribunal; and the hon. Member suggests that the whole House of Parliament may go into this matter asking him to establish the charges.

Of course, I may say in this connection that I have received notice of a privilege motion. Ministers are responsible Members of Parliament; and we have always been taking serious notice of allegations of corruption against Members of Parliament, because it detracts them from doing their duty. The privilege that is conferred on Members of Parliament is that they may speak here without fear or favour; otherwise, if there is a constant threat of some prosecution, no Member, and much less a Minister, will be able to discharge his duties. I have received notice of a privilege motion. I am sending it to the Leader of the House and then I shall ask for the opinion of the Committee. The impression in my mind is whichever Member is deterred from the discharge of his duty by a vague allegation cannot discharge his duty at all; and, therefore, the article in the Constitution relating to privileges becomes absolutely useless much more so with respect to the

Minister who has to take action, because before he goes one step forward, he has to look four steps behind. That is the difficulty. Therefore, I am seriously considering as to what ought to be done. At this stage, I am not able to say what it will be.

Shri Goray: May we know what exactly is the difference between the position that Shri C.D. Deshmukh has taken and the position which the Prime Minister has taken? It started with one speech by Shri C.D. Deshmukh in which he said that a tribunal should be appointed. In his letter to the Prime Minister he has stated that he has got certain cases. Now, what is the position that the Prime Minister has taken? Does he want that Shri C.D. Deshmukh should place all the papers before him before he appoints a tribunal, or is it Shri C.D. Deshmukh's stand that unless the tribunal is appointed, he would not place all the matters before him?

Mr. Speaker: For myself, I would say this.

Shri Goray: This question is agitating the minds of the public (Interruptions).

Mr. Speaker: Whoever has heard the hon. Prime Minister, once, twice and thrice will come to this conclusion. In the absence of definite allegations, merely on the basis of vague allegations that all the Ministers are bad, is he to go on appointing a High Court judge or a Supreme Court judge for this purpose. That is his difficulty. The very appointment itself may make administration impossible. All that the Prime Minister says is that "Let me be trusted, I shall go into the charges, if I have a prima facie case, I shall certainly appoint a High Court judge or a Supreme Court judge".

Shri Ranga:²²⁹ People can draw their own conclusions.

Shri Raghunath Singh: There is a very important question about Shri C.D. Deshmukh, which I want to ask. (Interruptions)

Mr. Speaker? Order, order.

Shri Raghunath Singh: I should be allowed to ask one question.

229. N.G. Ranga, elected Congress MP from Tenali, Andhra Pradesh; moved to the Swatantra Party which was formed in June 1959.

Mr. Speaker: Order, please. Is the Prime Minister prepared to say anything on this matter?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am prepared to give as much information as is in my possession, to the House, because, all this puts me, as the House will appreciate, in a difficult and embarrassing position. If it is a question of my word or my bona fides being doubted, I have nothing to say about that, because I can hardly stand up here in defence of my own honour. But the simple position is this that first of all, I do not think, and my Government does not think, that a tribunal as it has been asked for should be appointed in the air, first of all, a permanent tribunal just to receive complaints etc. There are processes of the law which any body can take advantage of. There are other ways too. And in addition to all that, wherever a serious charge is made which has any substance, inevitably, Government have to look into it to see whether it has substance, and thereafter take action. We have various ways to root out corruption, but we are not prepared to appoint a tribunal in the air for such charges as might be made; as for a permanent one, we do not think that that is at all proper; it would make all administration impossible; it will encourage all kinds of charges which may have no substance. But wherever there is an important charge, we shall look into it. Unless I know something of the nature of the charge, not the informants' names—I do not want any informants' names—I cannot say in the air that a High Court judge or a Supreme Court judge or any tribunal will be appointed on a charge which might be made in the future; I must know the nature of it. (Interruptions)

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:²³⁰ He has mentioned the categories.

Shri Raghunath Singh: May I know whether Shri C.D. Deshmukh is in the employment of Government and drawing a salary of Rs. 3000 per month, and whether the Government service rule applies to him or not?

An Hon. Member: No.

Shri Ranga: In what way is it relevant to the main question?

Shri Raghunath Singh: It is relevant. (Interruptions) Is he entitled to level a charge against Government? He is getting pension. Then he is getting salary.

230. PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Kendrapara, Orissa.

He is a government servant. His wife is also getting salary from the Government. My question is whether the Government Servants' Conduct Rules apply to him or not.

Mr. Speaker: That is a different matter altogether. Now we are on the question whether a tribunal should be appointed or not. Next question.

Shri Raghunath Singh: What about my question?

Mr. Speaker: I overruled that question.

So far as this matter is concerned, enough has been asked. The hon. Prime Minister has unequivocally replied that it is not possible for him, in expectation of some charges, to appoint a tribunal. Unless some charges are given to him and he is able to find out whether *prima facie* there is a case, there is no purpose in appointing a tribunal. What more is necessary? (Interruptions) Shri H.N. Mukerjee.

Shri Raghunath Singh: My question is whether the Government Servants' Conduct Rules apply to him or not.

Mr. Speaker: Unfortunately, the hon. Member is trying to disturb the House.

Pandit D.N. Tiwari:²³¹ On a point of order. This matter was debated fully during the discussion of the President's Address. Again, it is being debated now. This will again be discussed during the discussion of the General Budget. Once again, it will be discussed during the time the Demands for Grants of the Home Ministry are before the House. But here we have taken more than 10 or 15 minutes on this question alone, with the result that other questions are being elbowed out.

Mr. Speaker: There is no point of order.

Several Hon. Members rose—

Mr. Speaker: I will not allow all hon. Members to stand up simultaneously and ask questions. I will allow two or three more supplementaries and then proceed to the next question.

231. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Kesaria, Bihar.

Shri H.N. Mukerjee: In view of the apparent inadequacy of the presently-available channels for having such allegations as have been recently made investigated by the usual government agencies, and in view of serious charges even in regard to categories against highly placed government officials having already been presented to the Prime Minister, may I know if Government would merely stand on legal ceremony and say that because of the likely inconvenience ensuing out of the procedure they would not take some definite steps and see that this kind of thing is investigated properly?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I would like to know what kind of thing. My difficulty is that I do not know it. Government does not stand on any legal or trivial thing. It does not want to.

Shri Hem Barua: Specific categories....

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: May I be permitted to continue?

Government is not standing on any legal quibble in this matter, but on a very fundamental proposition. Government thinks it a fundamentally wrong thing, and an absolutely wrong approach, to appoint a tribunal to hear something about which it knows nothing, about which no charge has been made. I think it is a fundamentally wrong thing for any Member or any person outside to make charges without coming up and satisfying some kind of authority that there is some substance in them.

Shri Goray: Whom is he to satisfy. Should he satisfy the people whom he is accusing? (Interruptions)

Shri Braj Raj Singh: I have to ask a question,

Shri Ranga: Is it not open to a Member to accuse the Prime Minister? (Interruptions)

Shri Raghunath Singh: What about my question?

Shri Braj Raj Singh: May I know whether Shri C.D. Deshmukh has sought the permission of the Prime Minister to release the correspondence between the Prime Minister and himself to the Press, and whether in view of the importance of the correspondence, the Prime Minister is prepared to release it to the Press?

Mr. Speaker: Has he made any such request?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: In regard to one matter, as far as I remember, he did suggest that in case he is asked at a Press Conference or something like that, he might—I forget now whether it was the letters or the substance. That is true. To that I replied that it would not be desirable—it is the whole correspondence; it is not a question of a summary of it being released to the Press—for this confidential correspondence to be published in the Press.²³²

Several Hon. Members rose—

Shri Raghunath Singh: What action is Government taking against Shri C.D. Deshmukh who, being a servant of the Government, has levelled charges against the Government itself?

Mr. Speaker: Next question. Hon. Members have enough opportunities to discuss these matters in the debate and so on, if they find it necessary.

77. To C. Subramaniam: The Thyagaraja College²³³

March 9, 1960

My dear Subramaniam,

Thank you for your letter of March 8.

Deshmukh's attitude appears to be completely unreasonable. But, quite apart from what Deshmukh says, surely it is to your interest to settle this matter and not keep it pending. The college at Madurai will also suffer otherwise. You know the other party concerned. Why don't you approach him directly and try to fix this up on the basis of the land acquisition being limited to 27 acres. I think that V.V. Giri has written to him also on this subject.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

232. See SWJN/SS/57/item 52, fn 147.

233. Letter to the Minister of Finance and Education, Madras Government.

78. To C. Subramaniam: The Thyagaraja College²³⁴

March 10, 1960

My dear Subramaniam,

Deshmukh has written to me again about the Madurai land acquisition matter. I enclose a copy of his letter.²³⁵ I do not quite know what to reply to this. His mind seems to work in a peculiar way. Have you any comments or any advice?

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

79. To C. Subramaniam: Kundah Project²³⁶

12th March, 1960

My dear Subramaniam,

I have received a letter which is anonymous even though a name is attached to it.²³⁷ Normally I would not pay much attention to this but certain statements are made in it which indicate that the man who has written knows something about this project. Some serious allegations are made. I am, therefore, enclosing a copy of this letter and I hope you will have this matter looked into immediately.

The copies of the letter, it appears, have been sent to Rajaji and Feroze Gandhi. This matter may, therefore, come up before the public in some way or other and we should make quite sure about it.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

234. Letter.

235. For Deshmukh's letter of 9 March, see Appendix 21.

236. Letter. File No. 8/139/60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

237. This was regarding the Kundah project. See Appendix 19 for Makkan Singh's letter of 8 March to Nehru.

80. To G. B. Pant: The Thyagaraja College²³⁸

March 12, 1960

My dear Pantji,

You will remember that Deshmukh had raised the question of some land being acquired for a college in Madurai. This was one of the cases of "corruption" which he had in mind. This was indeed the only case which he mentioned to me particularly.

I wrote to Sri Prakasa, to V.V. Giri, to the Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University (Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar) and, of course, to the Chief Minister of Madras. On hearing from all these people, I pieced together the information I had got and wrote to Deshmukh. I also asked Subramaniam to see Deshmukh about this matter. Shri Subramaniam did this in Madras.

Two days ago, I received Deshmukh's reply to my letter. I am enclosing copies of both my letter to Deshmukh and his reply.²³⁹ I have sent a copy of these papers to Subramaniam also and am waiting to hear from him.

I do not quite know how to proceed in this matter further. Deshmukh takes up a difficult attitude. Anyhow, I do not see where the so-called corruption comes in at all.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal]

81. To C. Subramaniam: The Thyagaraja College²⁴⁰

March 13, 1960

My dear Subramaniam,

I have already sent you a copy of Deshmukh's last letter to me about the land for the Madurai College. I sent copies of this correspondence to our Home Minister, our Finance Minister and the Vice-President. I had a brief talk with the Vice-President also.

I have to send a reply to Deshmukh. I am waiting for your advice in this matter.

238. Letter. Identical letters were sent to Morarji Desai and S. Radhakrishnan.

239. See item 73 and Appendix 21.

240. Letter.

The Vice-President will be going to Madras soon. It has struck me that it might be desirable if Kamaraj or you could see the Vice-President on this subject. Indeed, I would go further and say that you might request him to go through all the papers that you may have and give his advice. He could consult the Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University also or anyone else. I have not mentioned this to the Vice-President as I feel that any request from me would not be proper and would be by-passing the Madras Government, which certainly I could not wish to do. I have no idea how the Vice-President will react to this suggestion, but I do think that it is worth pursuing.

As I have written to you, I think Deshmukh's attitude is unreasonable. But the fact remains that there is this deadlock in this matter, and every such thing continues to be a nuisance and is likely to be exploited all the time. Also all of us have the interests of education at heart and we have to look at it from the point of view of the educational institution in Madurai progressing and not having a feeling of suppression.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

82. To C.D. Deshmukh: Failure of Customs Officials²⁴¹

March 15, 1960

My dear Deshmukh,

Thank you for your letter of the 14th March.²⁴² The letter which you have enclosed is apparently anonymous. But as certain definite allegations are made, they should be enquired into. I am asking our Finance Ministry to do so.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

241. Letter. C.D. Deshmukh Papers, NMML.

242. See Appendices 30 (a) and 30 (b).

83. To A.K. Sen: The Jeep Case²⁴³

Home Minister, Finance Minister, Commonwealth Secretary and I have had prolonged talks about Jeep case in view of latest message received from Azim Husain and letter of Solicitors dated March 11th. We have considered every aspect of this matter. While it is true that present offer for settlement is more favourable than previous offers, fact remains that general impression here will nevertheless be that we were afraid of pursuing this case further. In view of past history of this case and great interest taken by public, we are reluctant to create impression that we are afraid of full disclosure and are therefore desirous of covering it up.

2. We realise that unless Defence Minister gives evidence our case will be weak and it will not be worthwhile pursuing this case. If however he gives evidence, even though that will necessarily be general and from memory of past events, it will have considerable weight.

3. In view of all these circumstances, Defence Minister has agreed to give evidence and has offered himself as witness unreservedly. It is perhaps unusual for a Minister of a Government to give evidence in a foreign court. Still we are prepared for this and you might make this clear to Counsel. This may make them look at this problem in a new light. It seems clear that defendants are themselves not eager to fight the case. Perhaps when they know that Defence Minister will give evidence, they might offer better terms for possible compromise.

4. If case has to be fought with Defence Minister as one of our witnesses, adjournment is desirable. Even if such adjournment is not given, Defence Minister is prepared to give evidence on date fixed.

5. If it is possible for you, you may go to London to discuss this matter with Counsel and inform us of your and Counsel's opinion.

6. Copy of this telegram being sent to Azim.

243. Telegram to the Law Minister, then in Geneva, 16 March 1960. Copied to Azim Husain, Deputy High Commissioner in London.

84. To S. Radhakrishnan: The Thyagaraja College²⁴⁴

March 17, 1960

My dear Radhakrishnan,

As I have previously sent you some correspondence relating to the Thiagaraya College at Madurai, I am sending you a copy of a further letter received by me from Subramaniam.²⁴⁵ In this he gives the facts more fully.

I am not interested in carrying on this argument with Deshmukh, but I would like this dispute to be settled so that the college can function satisfactorily. I think the obvious course is for Thiagaraya Chettiar to agree to take 27 acres. It seems to me a very big area of land. Adding the previous area of about 14 acres, this comes to nearly 40 acres. In addition to this, if he so wants, he can get some land outside the city for playgrounds, etc.

I wonder if you could informally help us in getting this matter settled on these lines? Advice from you to Thiagaraya Chettiar will go a long way.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

85. To C.D. Deshmukh: The Thyagaraja College²⁴⁶

March 17, 1960

My dear Deshmukh,

I have received a further letter from C. Subramaniam, Minister of Finance and Education in Madras State.²⁴⁷ This is about the acquisition of land for the Thiagaraya College at Madurai. Subramaniam was in the Madras Government throughout this long period and so he is personally acquainted with the history of this case. He has given this fairly fully in his letter. It seems to me that the facts are clear.

I am anxious, of course, that this matter should be settled satisfactorily so that the college at Madurai might progress. I still think that 27 acres of land in the interior of a big city is a very large area for a college. Added to it another 12 or 13 acres, which the college already possesses, this means 40 acres. I wonder

244. Letter to the Vice-President.

245. See Appendix 32.

246. Letter.

247. See Appendix 32.

how many colleges are so fortunate. If, however, more land for play fields, etc., is required, this could be acquired just outside the city.

Subramaniam has suggested that the Vice President might be requested to help. I do not wish to drag in the Vice President. But if any advice from him leads to some satisfactory result, it will be good.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

86. To S.R. Das: Pursuing Deshmukh's Inquiry Proposals²⁴⁸

March 20, 1960

My dear Shri Das,

Thank you for your letter of the 16th March. I am grateful to you for your agreeing to look into the papers that Deshmukh might send you. In this connection there is no quarrel between Deshmukh and me or, at any rate, I am not aware of it. If Deshmukh had agreed to send me the papers or other information that he possessed, I would have dealt with it myself as I have to do with such matters frequently.

I am now writing to Deshmukh and informing him that you are agreeable to look into this matter in a preliminary way and to advise me. I am suggesting to him to get in touch with you directly.

I entirely agree with you that there can be no question of court procedure about this matter. The approach is an informal one and you are the best judge as to how to deal with it.

There is just one thing which I might mention. You say that if you think that there is a prima facie case for an enquiry and advice that an enquiry is made, it will be for Deshmukh and me to agree to such a formal enquiry. In case you advise an enquiry, it will be for me to follow your advice in the best manner I think fit. The question of Deshmukh agreeing at that stage hardly arises.

Again thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

87. To C.D. Deshmukh: S. R. Das to Investigate²⁴⁹

March 20, 1960

My dear Deshmukh,

You will remember my writing to you that I intended requesting Shri S.R. Das to look into any papers or information that you might send him and advise us in the matter. You were agreeable to such a reference to him. Thereafter, I wrote to him making this suggestion. He was agreeable to undertaking this task, but he made it clear that, in view of his position as an ex-Chief Justice of India, he was not prepared to undertake it if somebody sat in some kind of appeal over his advice or decision. The Judges of the Supreme Court are particularly touchy about this matter, more especially since the LIC Enquiry when the Union Public Service Commission disagreed with the decisions of a Judge of the Supreme Court.

I wrote to Shri S.R. Das that this was, of course, a preliminary enquiry and there can be no question of any appeal from his advice. He has now written to me agreeing to undertake this work. Will you, therefore, please get in touch with him directly and give him such information as you wish? His present address is:

Santiniketan,
West Bengal.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

88. To G.B. Pant: S. R. Das to Investigate Deshmukh's Charges²⁵⁰

22nd March, 1960

My dear Pantji,

After a good deal of correspondence with Deshmukh and Shri S.R. Das, ex-Chief Justice of India, it has been agreed that Shri S.R. Das will look into the papers and information that Deshmukh might supply to him in regard to the charges, etc. This will be in the nature of a preliminary inquiry on the basis of those papers and it will be for Shri S.R. Das to determine whether anything

249. Letter, C.D. Deshmukh Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

250. Letter. An identical letter was sent to Morarji Desai.

further is to be done about it or not. He has made it clear to me that he will only undertake this work if no other individual or body is going to sit in judgment on his preliminary advice. I have told him that so far as I am concerned, there is no question of any appeal on such advice as he gives.

I have informed Deshmukh to send him such information as he possesses. This is just for your information.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

89. To Mahavir Tyagi: Act Against Corruption²⁵¹

22-3-1960

प्रिय महावीर,
तुम्हारा बगैर तारीख़ का ख़त मुझे मिला²⁵² और उसको मैंने गौर से पढ़ा। उसके बारे में अगर हम कुछ बातचीत कर सकें तो अच्छा हो। कल 23 तारीख़ 3 बजे तीसरे पहर को अगर आ सको तो पार्लियामेन्ट हाउस के मेरे कमरे में आ जाओ।

तुम्हारा
जवाहरलाल

[Translation begins:

Dear Mahavir,

I received your undated letter²⁵³ and read it carefully. It would be better if we could discuss this matter. If possible, see me tomorrow on 23rd at 3 p.m. in my office in the Parliament.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

Translation ends]

251. Letter. Mahavir Tyagi Papers, NMML.

252. See Appendix 44.

253. See fn 252 in this section.

90. To V.V. Giri: The Thyagaraja College²⁵⁴

March 22, 1960

My dear Giri,

Thank you for your letter of the 19th March.²⁵⁵

I have been going into this matter rather thoroughly and many additional facts have come to my notice. Thiagarajan was very wrong and foolish to reject the offer of 27 acres of land when it was made to him by Rajaji's Cabinet and subsequently. He was still more wrong in starting some kind of an agitation against the Madras Government. It may be his idea to have a University in Madurai and, no doubt, some time or other Madurai will have a University. But to expect very large areas of land in the middle of a growing city is most unrealistic. He can have more land outside the city limits.

I agree with you that it is very unfortunate to have this kind of matter go up to the courts of law. The only possible solution appears to be for Thiagarajan to agree to take 27 acres as previously suggested and, if necessary, take more land outside Madurai.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

91. To C.D. Deshmukh: Procedures for S. R. Das's Inquiry²⁵⁶

March 23, 1960

My dear Deshmukh,

I have your letter of today's date.²⁵⁷

You need not send every case simultaneously to Shri S.R. Das. You can send them one at a time or in such order as you like.

As for case No. 17, I presume this is the Madurai College affair. I had written to you, on my own initiative without asking Shri S. R. Das, that he is not likely to agree to any enquiry about a matter which is in court. I have personally no objection to such material as you may have or I might have being

254. Letter to the Governor of UP.

255. See Appendix 41.

256. Letter. C.D. Deshmukh Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

257. See Appendix 51.

sent to him if at a later stage this is considered necessary.

Obviously there can be no appeal after a preliminary enquiry of the kind that is suggested. Also it would be improper for a person who has occupied such a high judicial position as Shri S.R. Das did, to be treated as a subordinate court. Whatever advice he gives will of course be communicated to you by me or perhaps by him. It is for you to decide what cases to send him and what not to send him.

I presume that matters will be dealt with by correspondence and there will be no necessity for personal appearance. He may of course make some further enquiry from you if he considers this necessary. But I imagine this will also be by correspondence.

There can be no judicial powers is an informal enquiry. I have no idea how Shri S.R. Das is likely to proceed in this matter and I do not think it will be proper for me to try to lay down any methods or procedures. So far as I am concerned, I shall give him every assistance that is in my power to secure any necessary papers which might be of help to him, even though they might be confidential papers. In the case of any enquiry affecting an official or a Minister, it will obviously be in the interest of that official or Minister to give any information in his possession in whatever way is considered proper and feasible.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

92. To C. Subramaniam: The Thyagaraja College²⁵⁸

March 23, 1960

My dear Subramaniam,

I enclose copies of two letters, one from the Vice-President to me²⁵⁹ and the other from Shri Thiagarajan to me.²⁶⁰

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

258. Letter.

259. See Appendix 52 for Radhakrishnan's letter of 23 March.

260. See Appendix 53 for Thiagarajan's letter of 23 March.

93. To M.J. Desai: Jeep Case²⁶¹

You will remember the discussion we had over this jeep case a few days ago in the Home Minister's house. It was as a result of this discussion that I sent a telegram to the Law Minister which was repeated to Shri Azim Husain.²⁶²

2. From that discussion what emerged was that we were not at all attracted to an out-of-court settlement of this case on payment of a sum of money. Indeed, the general trend was that it would be better anyhow to proceed with the case. The financial gains or losses involved in this would not be much important even though it was clear that financially it would be advantageous for us to settle the case because even if we won this, we were not likely to get anything from the defendants. The expenses involved in carrying on with this case would be heavy anyhow. Our main approach was that in view of the strong feeling in Parliament and the country over this issue, we should not do anything which led people to think that we had something to hide. Our government was involved in this and therefore we were prepared to go ahead with the case, more especially when the Defence Minister had given a clear opinion that he should give evidence. Our own view was that in the event of the Defence Minister giving evidence, the chances were that our case would be strong. But even apart from this, we came to the conclusion, and I sent the telegram which you saw.

3. Now that a fresh letter containing the counsel's opinion has come, you will, of course, discuss this with Azim Husain. His views appear to be more or less in line with counsel's opinion. Our Law Minister will be going very soon to London to discuss these matters with the counsel and we should naturally await his advice.

4. Meanwhile, I suggest that you might show these papers to the Home Minister and the Defence Minister, The Finance Minister is not here now; on his return he should see them.

5. Shri Azim Husain has gone out of Delhi, but he is returning on the 26th afternoon.

261. Note to the CS, 24 March 1960.

262. See item 83.

94. To C. Subramaniam: "This Wretched Thiagaraja College"²⁶³

Circuit House,
Coimbatore,
March 25, 1960

My dear Subramaniam,

I have just had a brief talk with Kamaraj about this wretched Thiagaraja College at Madurai and I have given Kamaraj a copy of a letter I received last evening from Deshmukh on this subject. He will no doubt show it to you. This letter from Deshmukh is in answer to my last letter with which I had enclosed a copy of yours giving all the facts.²⁶⁴

Deshmukh's letter, as you will see, is not very helpful. He has not got a judicial temperament and he comes to conclusions from one-sided accounts and then sticks to them. Towards the end of his letter, he makes a rather remarkable proposal to the effect that land required by Thiagarajan should be given to him, that is, fifty acres, and at the same time the court case should continue in order to clear up the law. So that Thyagarajan has the best of it in every way. He gets the land and he carries on with his case. That, of course, seems to me to be rather ridiculous.

In my last letter to you, I had mentioned that Thiagarajan was coming to Delhi, but I did not propose to see him. Subsequently the Vice-President telephoned to me that he had seen Thiagarajan and he wanted me to meet him also. I agreed to see him and he came to my house last evening. He was very apologetic for giving me all this trouble over this matter, but, he said, he was anxious to build up various colleges and ultimately a University and he had been at this for ten years now without success. I told him that so far as I could make out, he had proceeded in a very wrong way and had carried on some kind of an agitation against the Chief Minister and the Madras Government. Later he went to court. This was not the way to get the goodwill of the Madras Government and a proper decision. Also he wanted such large areas of land for a college. I could not easily conceive of so much land being available in a big and growing city. I was all, of course, for the spread of education and I would welcome colleges being built and a University established at Madurai. I had no doubt that the Madras Government would welcome it too. But the Government had to look at every aspect of this question. There was the question of planning

263. Letter.

264. See Appendix 55 for C.D. Deshmukh's letter of 24 March.

Madurai properly. Normally big areas of land for educational purposes were found outside the main parts of the city.

Thiagarajan then showed me maps of Madurai and pointed out where his present college was and the land he would like to have. There was the area of 27 acres on one side and a little farther away another adjoining area of about seven acres. Near this seven acre land he was building some other college, probably technical, and the progress of this had stopped because he did not have enough land. The University insisted on fifty acres of land for these various buildings. This land that he had asked for was lying vacant and did not come in anybody's way. The industrial growth of Madurai was taking place in another direction. Looking at the map, I asked him why he should not take land on the other side of the river. He said that there was no bridge and it would be difficult to be separated by the river without a bridge.

In his brief telephone talk with me, the Vice-President, who had evidently been impressed by what Thiagarajan told him, had mentioned that this seven acre plot might be given to him. I told him that I knew nothing about this or about the general layout of the city.

When I spoke to Kamaraj this evening, he said that Thiagarajan was a bad man and, apart from getting into trouble for non-payment of income-tax, he had evolved a method of buying small patches of land and then trying to acquire larger areas. In a way he was speculating over this land. Anyhow Kamaraj had no good opinion of him.

I told Kamaraj that I knew nothing about Thiagarajan and I had met him for the first time last evening when he was rather apologetic and said that he was a good friend of Kamaraj and was sorry that this trouble had arisen.

But, I said to Kamaraj that, quite apart from the quality of Thiagarajan, it would be a good thing if proper colleges were built in Madurai, both Arts and Technical, etc. and a University grew up. If Thiagarajan was prepared to invest all his money, we could take advantage of this fact, subject always to proper trust deeds etc. being made so that nobody could mess about with the land or the property later. I suggested to Kamaraj to send for Thiagarajan and speak to him directly. He agreed to do so.

I think it would be desirable for this matter to be settled in the best way possible. I am not interested in Thiagarajan, but I am interested in the growth of properly run educational institutions. An average person who learns that Thiagarajan is prepared to put in large sums of money for colleges etc., but cannot do so because land is not available, naturally feels that land should be made available for this purpose. It is difficult to go into long histories. I hope, therefore, that some way out will be found and the building of the colleges etc. will be proceeded with. But, as I have said above, the idea of the court case

going at the same time seems to me quite wrong.

With the letter of Deshmukh to me, which I have given to Kamaraj, there is a letter from the Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University also.²⁶⁵ I would suggest to you to see Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar and explain the position and now the Madras Government is perfectly willing to help if the other party is reasonable and stops giving trouble.

You mentioned to me in Delhi that Thiagarajan had got into trouble over evasion of taxes and that the Supreme Court had passed some very adverse remarks about him. Could you let me have those remarks?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

[SNOOPING FOR EVIDENCE]

You Said It

By LAXMAN



They suspect I'm corrupt—they are looking for concrete proof. I am told!

(From *The Times of India*, 25 March 1960, p. 1)

265. See Appendix 38 for A.L. Mudaliar's letter to Deshmukh of 17 March.

(iii) Visa and Passport

95. In the Lok Sabha: Indians Stranded in Italy²⁶⁶

Question:²⁶⁷ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 636 on the 7th December, 1959 and state the result of the discussions held with the Government of Italy in regard to 138 persons detained by them?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan): The Italian Government decided not to prosecute or deport the persons concerned. Since the Government of India had no legal powers to repatriate the latter compulsorily, the Italian Government eventually decided to hand back the seized passport as and when the person concerned was able to make his own travel arrangements to leave Italy. The Government of India at the same time instructed their Embassies in Rome, Paris, Bonn and Berne that as soon as any of these persons himself applied for repatriation, he should be immediately repatriated.

Shri Hem Barua: May I know whether it is a fact that the Indian Government approached the shipping company concerned that brought them to Italy to bring them back to the port of embarkation and, if so, what was the response of the shipping company?

Shri Sadath Ali Khan: This matter was discussed with the Italian Government. The Italian Government maintained that as the passport of these persons had been checked and pronounced valid by the Indian check-posts prior to embarkation, the shipping company was not responsible.

Shri Hem Barua: As the Indians have to be repatriated to India and as the Government of India have paid for their repatriation, may I know whether those Indians are asked to sign a bond to repay in instalments the passage money?

266. Oral answers to questions, 4 March 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXIX, cols 4141-4143.

267. By Congress MPs A.M. Tariq and Ila Palchoudhuri; Jan Sangh MP P.R. Issar; and PSP MP Hem Barua.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):
Yes.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: Since this matter came to the notice of the Government, may I know whether the Government have made any investigations regarding the number of such persons who might have got similar passports?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, Sir. Very extensive investigations have been made in England and other countries in Europe and in India.

Shri Hem Barua: They were detained in two camps in Italy. Pending their repatriation to this country they were in a very miserable condition in the camps. If so, may I know whether we have instructed our embassy in Rome to see that these miseries are relieved to a certain extent and, if so, what was the response?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Our embassy in Rome was in constant touch with these camps. Originally, some complaints were received that they were not being well provided for, but soon after, our report was that the Italian Government provided quite a large number of amenities, such as food, blankets, etc., to them. Naturally, the Italian food did not always agree with them but the Italian Government treated them well after the first few days of some confusion.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: The hon. Prime Minister has just now stated that thorough investigations have been made regarding these matters. May I know who are the persons who are indulging in such spurious travel documents?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: That is a matter which will come up before the courts of law.

96. To N.R. Pillai: Difficulties Faced by Overseas Indians²⁶⁸

I had a visit from a certain Shri Diwan Singh today. He has lived many years in Africa and for about 27 years in the U.K. He told me of the difficulties of Indians returning from abroad to India. A minor matter was about some harassment and delays caused in our Passport office. He mentioned to me his own case. He had gone to the Delhi Regional Office in Canning Road, I think, yesterday. He was kept waiting for a long time and then sent away without his business being done. He hinted that the general treatment given was far from courteous. I think we might enquire from the Regional Office as to why such complaints should come to us and why there should be any delay.

I was also told of some difficulties about Indians bringing money with them from foreign countries. He particularly mentioned Iran and Bangkok in this connection. He said that many Indians were prepared to come with considerable sums of money if they were encouraged to do so. In fact, he suggested that some special emissary might go to induce them to come. I do not think this is necessary. He further said that it would be helpful if a special department was opened to deal with Indians overseas who come here. There was no one to deal with them and they went from pillar to post. We can hardly open a special department, but perhaps some officer in Commerce & Industry Ministry or in External Affairs might be asked to deal with such people and give them help.

(g) Social Groups

97. To N. Sanjiva Reddy: A Muslim for the Rajya Sabha²⁶⁹

Raj Bhavan,
Calcutta,

1st March 1960

Dear President,

You will remember that the Central Parliamentary Board had requested me to finalise the name of the candidate for the third seat in the Rajya Sabha from West Bengal after consulting Dr. B.C. Roy. I have spoken to him on this subject

268. Note to SG, 5 March 1960.

269. Letter to the Congress President.

and told him of how we felt about this matter. I have particularly stressed that it would be desirable for them to select a Muslim candidate.

During the very short time at my disposal here in Calcutta, it was not possible for me to finalise the name. I have, however, written to him a letter, a copy of which I enclose.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal]

98. To B.C. Roy: Find a Muslim for the Rajya Sabha²⁷⁰

Raj Bhavan,
Calcutta,
1st March, 1960

My dear Bidhan,

As you know, the Central Parliamentary Board considered the various recommendations for the selection of candidates for the Rajya Sabha seats from various States. Among these States was West Bengal. The West Bengal Congress Election Committee had recommended three names. Two of these names were of those now sitting in the Rajya Sabha. These were Shri Rajpat Singh Doogar²⁷¹ and Shri Mriganka Mohan Sur.²⁷² These were approved by the Central Parliamentary Board.

As regards the third name, the Board felt strongly that it should be given to a representative of minorities. Normally, we look upon the Rajya Sabha seats as something different from Lok Sabha seats. In the latter, there is a full election with all the trouble that it involves and the person who is ultimately elected directly represents the people in his constituency. In the Rajya Sabha, owing to the system of indirect election by the Assembly, the majority party can make sure of a certain number of seats. Thus the choice of a candidate on behalf of the majority party practically makes sure of his election and there is no trouble. For this reason, it is considered desirable normally to select candidates who are not likely to be elected by direct election and, of course, who are otherwise considered desirable. This applies specially to minority representation.

270. Letter.

271. Doogar was Rajya Sabha MP from 1952 to 1972.

272. Sur was Rajya Sabha MP from 1954 to 1972.

It was felt, therefore, that it would be particularly desirable if one of your seats for the Rajya Sabha was filled by a Muslim provided of course he is otherwise also considered a desirable candidate. Both Hafiz Mohd. Ibrahim²⁷³ and Dr. Syed Mahmud²⁷⁴ also wrote to me on this subject. I enclose their letters in original.

I would, therefore, request you and your committee to select a suitable Muslim candidate for this seat, a person who has been connected with the Congress and who would make a good choice. Not knowing the possible candidates from West Bengal, I leave it to you and your Committee to suggest a suitable name. When you have made your choice, please inform the Congress President by telephone.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

99. To B.C. Kamble: Studentships for Minorities²⁷⁵

3rd March, 1960

Dear Shri Kamble,

I have your letter of February 29th. I do not know what more I can add to what I told you when you met me or what I wrote to you. Broadly speaking, there are special rules governing the Scheduled Castes and tribal people. That is a definite constitutionally recognised group. As for other groups, there are educational facilities for economically backward people. Many kinds of scholarships are given to a number of them. A religious minority as such do not, so far as I am aware, come under special rules covering them, except that they should be fairly treated in accordance with the Constitution.²⁷⁶

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

273. Union Minister of Irrigation and Power.

274. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Gopalganj, Bihar.

275. Letter to Kamble, Independent, Lok Sabha MP from Kopergaon-SC, Bombay.

276. Nehru wrote to Pant on 17 January 1960 on Kamble's opinion. See SWJN/SS/56/item 54.

100. In the Rajya Sabha: Proposed Buddhist Centre in India²⁷⁷

Shri P.N. Rajabhoj: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government are aware that the Dalai Lama proposes to establish Buddhist institute and meditation centre in India; and
- (b) if so, whether such a scheme has been submitted to Government for approval?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) and (b) There is no proposal to establish a Buddhist institute and meditation centre in India. It is proposed, however, to convert the Buxa Tibetan Refugee Camp in West Bengal into a permanent place of residence for about 1,500 student Lamas from Tibet to enable them to continue their religious studies.

101. In the Lok Sabha: Sumptuary Allowance for Ambassador to Saudi Arabia²⁷⁸

Shri Yagnik:²⁷⁹ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) The amount of sumptuary allowance that was granted the Indian Ambassador in Saudi Arabia at Jeddah for entertaining Indian visitors and Indian pilgrims during the last three years; and
- (b) The amount that was spent on entertaining the Indian pilgrims passing from Jeddah to Mecca and Madina during Haj season during the same period?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): No sumptuary allowance is granted specifically for entertaining Indian pilgrims. The Ambassador is, however, given a grant of Rs. 700 per month to meet his normal representational obligations. The grant is mainly intended to cover the cost of other foreign nationals resident there. The guests in such parties should be mainly foreigners though the Ambassador may include among his guests, a

277. Written answers to questions, 3 March 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVIII, col. 2594.

278. Written answers to questions, 4 March 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, cols 4211-4212.

279. Indulal K. Yagnik, MJP, Lok Sabha MP from Ahmedabad, Bombay.

few important Indian visitors and Indian pilgrims.

In addition to this monthly grant, a special annual grant of Rs. 1000 was sanctioned during the last three years for the specific purpose of entertaining prominent Haj pilgrims from all countries including India.

(c) As Indian pilgrims were not separately entertained, the amount spent on this cannot be separately assessed. Both the monthly and the annual grants have been fully utilised by the Ambassador.

102. To Mohanlal Sukhadia: Humane Treatment for Prisoners²⁸⁰

March 9, 1960

My dear Sukhadia,

I enclose a petition I have received from a well-known Muslim resident of Delhi. I understand that he has worked for the Congress and for the Jamiat-ul-Ulema and some of our friends here have recommended him.

Apparently there is a quarrel about the identity of a boy. The matter has gone up to the Civil and Criminal courts. I am unable to express an opinion on this.

Apart from this, it is stated in this petition that the police or the C.I.D. of Jaipur have treated these people very harshly and even brutally.

I have no desire to interfere in criminal or other proceedings, but decent treatment should be given to the persons concerned. They should not be harassed. You might inquire into this matter. Also it is not clear to me why unnecessary restrictions are being placed on their movements inside India.

I am enclosing a letter I have received from Humayun Kabir²⁸¹ as well as the petition from Abdul Sattar.²⁸²

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

280. Letter to the Chief Minister of Rajasthan.

281. Nehru wrote to Humayun Kabir on the same day: "I have your letter of March 9th about Choudhuri Abdul Sattar. It is very difficult to interfere with criminal or civil cases. Any attempt to do so might well lead to questions in Parliament, etc. I am, however, writing to the Chief Minister of Rajasthan to look into this matter. I am also enquiring about the issue of a visa to the mother of Abdul Sattar."

282. Nehru wrote again to Mohanlal Sukhadia on 2 August 1960. See SWJN/SS/62.

103. To Hamid A. Ali: Allahabad Fort Temple Entry for Muslims²⁸³

March 9, 1960

My dear Hamid Ali,

Thank you for your letter of the 8th March. I am surprised to learn that you had some difficulty about going into the underground temple in the Allahabad Fort. I have not previously heard about any prohibition for Muslims. I have not myself gone into that so-called temple for the last thirty years or more. I shall enquire about it.²⁸⁴

Indira is recovering from her operation fairly well.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

104. To K. Ram: Begum Abdullah's Visit to the Dargah²⁸⁵

You might inform the Khalifa that if Begum Abdullah and her daughters visit the Dargah, they should be treated with courtesy like other people.²⁸⁶

283. Letter to Hamid Ali, a resident of Mussoorie.

284. Nehru instructed his PPS on the same day thus: "Could you please write to the District Magistrate of Allahabad about the complaint made by Shri Hamid Ali. Why are not Muslims allowed to go there if other non-Hindus are so allowed?"

285. Note to the PPS, 10 March 1960. File No. 2(15)/RL/60-H, vol. I, Minute No. 26, PMS.

286. With Nehru's note, the following unsigned note dated 8 March was attached: "Khalifa Syed Maqbool Ahmad of Rauza Sharif, Sarhind says that on the 6th March he received a telegram from Shrimati Mridula Sarabhai that she would be coming to visit the Dargah along with 8 others including Begum Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah and her daughters and Ch. Mohd. Shafi and would reach there at about 10 P.M. on March 7 and would return on the morning of 8th March. These people reached here at about 11 P.M. by car on March 7 and have returned today (8.3.60). These people were treated here in the same manner as any other people who come here. The Khalifa requests that he may kindly be informed that if these people come again to the Dargah, whether they are to be treated in some different manner."

105. To A.K. Sen: A Bengali for the Religious Endowments Commission²⁸⁷

March 20, 1960

My dear Asoke,

C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar²⁸⁸ came to see me yesterday and spoke about the Commission which you have appointed to go into the question of Religious Endowments. He said that he felt it was very necessary to have a Bengali on it, partly because Bengal was an important place from this point of view and partly because anyhow people in Bengal were rather touchy and would not like their being left out.

I have no objection to a person from Bengal being added on to this Commission. I spoke to Dr. B.C. Roy yesterday. He said that he could immediately suggest a suitable name. The name he suggested was that of K.C. Sen, ex-judge of the Bombay High Court, who is now Chairman of the West Bengal Law Commission. Dr. Roy said that K.C. Sen could easily give time for this Commission.

I understand that C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar has written to you on this subject. I should like to know how you feel about this matter. If you agree, we might take steps to add K.C. Sen to the Commission.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

106. To T.H. Sonavane: SC & ST Members' Contributions to the Party²⁸⁹

March 20, 1960

My dear Sonavane,

I have your letter of March 18th regarding the ten percent contribution to the Party funds. I think that the proposal made by you and some other members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the reduction of their contribution to the Party is not a wise one. I have given much thought to this matter and while I appreciate some of your difficulties, I feel that from your point of view

287. Letter to the Union Minister of Law.

288. Former Dewan of Travancore and Vice-Chancellor of BHU and Annamalai University.

289. Letter to Sonavane, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Sholapur-SC, Bombay.

this will be unbecoming. If we start treating separate groups of members of our Party differently, we introduce a practice which will lead to undesirable consequences.

I can understand any very special circumstances for some remission being allowed for a period to an individual. That too would be only for a period and not indefinitely. To apply this rule to a group like the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is to do a grave injustice to them and to brand them in a way which is bad. As for the economic condition of some members, there are quite a number of Congress members who are not members of the Scheduled Castes or Tribes and yet are economically even worse off. What then is the test? Are we going to examine the economic position of each individual member and fix his subscription accordingly? Surely that is highly undesirable.

Also you must remember that only a small number of persons get into Parliament and are paid salary and allowances. What about many others who are not in Parliament and who do not have this privilege?

I do not see any justification for this distinction and I think this will put the members of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes into a lower category. Surely they do not desire this.

The whole conception of parliamentary salaries and allowances is not the normal function of a salary, but to enable the Members to meet their expenses in living in Delhi for the Parliament session.

I hope, therefore, that you and your colleagues will reconsider this matter.²⁹⁰

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

107. In the Lok Sabha: Pilgrim Accomodation at Jeddah and Mecca²⁹¹

Shri Yajnik: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that a number of Mussafar Khanas were built by citizens and rulers of undivided India at Jeddah and Mecca before

290. Nehru copied this letter, along with those of Sonavane and others, to H.C. Heda, Secretary, Congress Party in Parliament, the same day.

291. Oral answers to questions, 22 March 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XLI, cols 7196-7197.

1947;

- (b) whether Government have taken over their custody;
- (c) whether any repairs have been made in these Mussafar Khanas for adding sanitary and other conveniences for the Haj pilgrims; and
- (d) the amount spent on such repairs at Jeddah and Mecca during the last three years?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan): (a) Yes. Sir.

- (b) Yes. The Musafarkhanas (Rubats) built by the former States of Hyderabad and Bhopal are under the control of the Embassy of India, Jeddah. Other musafarkhanas are being managed directly by the donors or charitable institutions responsible for their construction originally.
- (c) Repairs are carried out in the "rubats" built by the former States of Hyderabad and Bhopal as and when needed.
- (d) No major repairs were considered necessary during the last three years but repairs and improvements have been affected in earlier years.

Shri Yajnik: May I know if the pilgrims find it very uncomfortable to lodge in these musafarkhanas for want of elementary sanitary facilities?

Shri Sadath Ali Khan: It is a fact that most of these musafarkhanas are not serving the purpose for which they were built by the endowers because a large number of unauthorised persons are permanently residing in them and thus, as the hon. Member says, there is very little room left for accommodating the pilgrims.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member wanted to know about the amenities there.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: Are there musafarkhanas even now?

Mr. Speaker: One at a time.

Shri Sadath Ali Khan: The musafarkhanas are, as I said, sometimes occupied by unauthorised persons.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: May I answer, Sir? The question of making arrangements for pilgrims is essentially that of the Saudi Arabian Government. The Government of India does not go out and take charge of these pilgrims. But, necessarily, we are interested in the comfort of our nationals going there and we try to help

them in every way. So, many of these musafarkhanas are looked after by us. They are trusts created by some old Indian princely rulers and others. I suppose I cannot at the moment answer about the amenities in the musafarkhanas. As my hon. friend said, many of them are occupied by non-musafars. It is for the Saudi Arabian Government to deal with the matter. We cannot interfere.

Shri A.M. Tariq: May I know whether Government has sanctioned any amount for the repairs of these musafarkhanas built by the ex-States of Bhopal and Hyderabad?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: As the answer shows a certain amount of money was spent on repairs two or three years ago. No special need has apparently arisen now. I may add that in the last few years, chiefly because of the Saudi Arabian Government, facilities for pilgrims have increased very greatly than 15 years ago when the Haj pilgrims had to put up with enormous difficulties. In recent years the Saudi Arabian Government has taken many steps to improve the lot of pilgrims.

108. To S. Chellaswamy: Ministerial Discourtesy²⁹²

23rd March, 1960

Dear Shri Chellaswamy,

I have your letter of the 22nd March. I am sure that our Deputy Minister did not mean any discourtesy. I am sorry that any such impression is created.²⁹³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

292. Letter to S. Chellaswamy, Convener of the Action Committee of the Union Language Convention, South India, Madras. From *Letters from Late Prime Minister Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru & other Statesmen on National Issues, Selection of Letters To and From Mr. S. Chellaswamy* (Madras, 1965), p.4.

293. See Appendix 48.

109. To G.B. Pant: Indigent Grant to Anglo-Indians²⁹⁴

March 24, 1960

My dear Pantji,

Frank Anthony came to see me today about their schools, etc.²⁹⁵ I took the line that you had indicated in your letter of March 21st.²⁹⁶ He said that unless something more was done for the indigent students, it would be very hard on them and they would not be able to continue their studies. He pleaded therefore for the retention of the Indigent Grant.

He said that he had spoken to the Chief Minister of Bombay and, indeed, some others. Nearly all of them had expressed their entire willingness to continue this grant, provided they had authority to do so. This, as you have pointed out, requires a slight amendment of the Constitution.

I told Anthony that it was difficult to go about amending the Constitution and neither Parliament nor our Party will look at this with favour. He said that he had discussed this with many Members of Parliament and, more especially, with many Members of the Congress Party also. Practically every one of them had welcomed the idea. He said that they would support it.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

(h) Language

110. To G.B. Pant: Hindi and Other Languages²⁹⁷

March 10, 1960

My dear Pantji,

Your letter of March 10, with the draft notification containing the President's directions on the report of the Official Language Committee of Parliament.²⁹⁸ I

294. Letter. File No. 33(56)/60-PMS.

295. Nehru wrote to Pant on 19 March 1960 enclosing Nominated Lok Sabha MP, Frank Anthony's letter (date not available) and asked for advice.

296. See Appendix 46.

297. Letter to the Union Home Minister. File No. 52(13)/58-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

298. See Appendix 23.

give below some comments on this draft, these comments do not indicate any particular change in the present draft, but if some minor changes are introduced on the lines of these comments, I would welcome them.

Page 4 of the draft, para 6 (b) - Propagation of Hindi

This calls upon the Ministry of Education to take steps to constitute an Academy of Languages for bringing the various Indian languages closer and for developing Hindi in accordance with the directive contained in Article 351. We have at present the Sahitya Akademi whose specific purpose is to encourage all Indian languages and bring them closer to each other. In fact, it has done very good work to this end. So far as I remember, no special reference is made in its Constitution to developing Hindi in accordance with the directive in Article 351, but, of course, Hindi is being encouraged in a variety of ways. It seems to me that the constitution of a new Academy of Languages would be unfortunate and would clash or overlap with the Sahitya Akademi.

Page 5, para 7 (c)

This deals with a knowledge of Hindi being prescribed as a qualification for entering into All India Services and suggests that a sufficiently long notice be given for this. In para 9 (b) it is stated that there should be two compulsory papers, one in Hindi and another in a modern Indian language other than Hindi for recruitments to All India Services and higher Central Services. It is added that for the present, only an optional Hindi language paper may be introduced.

This is somewhat at variance with the decision the Congress Working Committee took some years ago which stated clearly that there should not be a compulsory paper in Hindi for any entrance examination to All India Services as this might be a bar to the non-Hindi speaking people. What was recommended then was that subsequent to entering the service, a Hindi test should be prescribed.

Page 8, para 12: Language of Supreme Court and High Courts

Here the proposal that the language of the Supreme Court should be Hindi has been accepted in principle. This is certainly a little vague. Nevertheless the acceptance of the principle now is likely to meet with much opposition. The Supreme Court can hardly function in Hindi if the High Courts do not do so. I rather doubt if the High Courts will function in Hindi for a long time to come. Perhaps they may go over to the regional language.

These are my present reactions. I am returning the draft to you.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(i) Representative Institutions

111. To M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: The Speaker's Gratuitous Comments²⁹⁹

March 4, 1960

Dear Mr. Speaker,

I am venturing to write to you about a matter which has distressed me. This refers to the proceedings of the Lok Sabha at Question time on the 1st March 1960. I was unfortunately unable to be present on that day as I had to go to Calcutta to meet the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union. My Deputy Minister, however, dealt with the Questions addressed to me.

One of the Questions (No.491) dealt with a Chinese publication entitled *China Reconstructs*. An enquiry was made whether this had been brought out on behalf of the Government of China in Cairo. There were a number of supplementaries about the circulation of this Chinese journal in India, and further as to how we were countering Chinese propaganda. My Deputy Minister replied to these supplementaries. In the course of one of her replies, she said that "our Publications Division puts out material, etc." Thereafter, you were pleased to say:

"The Minister in charge of publications should be here to find out what exactly the Hon'ble Members want during Question Hour. As in the case of Germany—of course, we do not want to imitate everything—the Minister in charge of Government publications should be here from morning to evening to find out what are the reactions and find out methods for proper publicity. But he is the one Minister of all the Ministers who is rarely present. How can he understand? Does he go through all the reports to find out what the current here is? It is strange that neither he nor his assistant is here."

Thereupon, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Information & Broadcasting,³⁰⁰ who was present in the Lok Sabha, said "I am here, Sir." You were pleased to say a little later "I am afraid our country suffers from want of more and more publicity."

I am disturbed and distressed at some of the remarks you were pleased to make which were criticism of the work of our Government in regard to publicity. Whether our publicity is adequate or not may be a matter of opinion, but I

299. Letter to the Speaker, Lok Sabha.

300. A.C. Joshi.

would hardly have thought that the Speaker would lend his great weight to a clear criticism of Government in the way it is functioning in its normal sphere. But what has distressed me most is the reference to my colleague, the Minister of Information & Broadcasting. It is not clear to me why he should have been particularly present on this occasion in the Lok Sabha. He had no question to his name, and there was no mention of the Publications Division in any of the Questions listed. It was only rather casually that my Deputy Minister mentioned that our Publications Division puts out material. You were further pleased to refer to the case of Germany and to say that the Minister in charge of Government publications should attend the Lok Sabha from morning to evening. That has not been our conception of the duty of any Minister, much less the Minister in charge of Government publications. I do not know what happens in Germany and am, therefore, unable to say anything about it. But I happen to know about the procedures in some other countries, including the United Kingdom, and I do not think it is expected there that Ministers should be present in Parliament all the time. If such was the case, it would not be possible for them to carry on the heavy and responsible work which falls to their lot. I have myself endeavoured to be present in Parliament almost every day during Question Hour. Sometimes, it has to be remembered, there are two Houses functioning, and one cannot be in both Houses at the same time.

May I also venture to say that the conception of the duty of the Minister in charge of publications is not correct? He is technically in charge of printing and publishing. The material for this comes from the Ministry concerned. Thus, regarding External publicity, the responsibility is entirely that of the External Affairs Ministry who prepare the material and send it to the Publications Division. That Division only prints and publishes it. Thus, to hold the Minister of Information & Broadcasting responsible for what is published and what is not published is not correct. In this particular matter, that is, in regard to our China publicity, the responsibility is entirely that of the External Affairs Ministry, and if any error or omission has been committed, it is their fault. Publicity, if I say take the liberty to add, is not always a question of distributing leaflets or books. It has a deeper significance and is intimately connected with the broad political approach of various countries concerned. We have in Delhi sixty foreign Missions, and many of them have their own publicity bureaus.

There are two matters to which I would like to invite your special attention. The first one is the question of Ministers being present all the time or a great part of the time in the House. I do not think that is the practice in other Parliaments, nor do I think it feasible for Ministers to neglect all their other work and spend most of their time in the House even when subjects other than their own are being discussed. They should, of course, certainly be present,

their Deputies should be present, when any matter concerning them comes up before the House.

The second aspect is, and I have referred to it above, that there are two Houses, often sitting simultaneously. Under our Constitution, a Minister can and often has to attend both of these Houses. In such circumstances, it is manifest that he has to be absent from the other.

You will, I trust, forgive me for writing to you on this subject. But I felt that some matters needed clearing up. Also that the honour of my colleagues in the Government and the Government itself is involved.³⁰¹

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

112. To Satya Narayan Sinha: Instruct the Speaker³⁰²

March 7, 1960

My dear Satya Narayan,

I enclose a copy of a reply I have received from the Speaker.³⁰³ I do not wish to carry on a correspondence or an argument on this issue with the Speaker. I think, however, that you might, on a suitable occasion, speak to him on this subject.

You might point out to him, what indeed I have endeavoured to do in my previous letter, that the Minister of Information & Broadcasting has very little to do personally with the various matters the Speaker has mentioned in his letter. It is not for him to interpret policies and activities of the Government of India. It is the Ministries concerned that do so and the publicity given in regard to these matters is through material prepared by the Ministries concerned. As for programmes for foreign countries and Indians overseas, these are also done in close coordination with the External Affairs Ministry. Only a very small part of these programmes necessarily deals with the day's proceedings in Parliament. For the day's proceedings in Parliament, usually a high class person is engaged to follow them and to give a summary. The News Services of the Home Programmes also deal with events in India and briefly with the proceedings

301. For Ayyangar's reply of 7 March, see Appendix 17.

302. Letter to the Union Minister of Parliamentary Affairs.

303. See Appendix 17.

of Parliament. The Minister is not supposed to see all the radio or other programmes that are issued.

All this work is of specialised character and is, therefore, dealt with either by the Ministries concerned or by special officers appointed in that behalf.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

113. To Naushir Bharucha: Discussing Disarmament Here Unhelpful³⁰⁴

March 12, 1960

Dear Shri Bharucha,

I have your letter of March 12th. Since you have been good enough to ask for my opinion, I must say that I do not think it will be helpful or desirable for a discussion to take place under the auspices of your Bureau on the subjects likely to come up before the Summit Conference. The broad policies of India in regard to disarmament and the banning of nuclear tests are well known. So far as the questions relating to Germany and Berlin are concerned, we have avoided getting entangled in them. Naturally we are interested because they are world problems and may lead to war or peace. But, generally speaking, we have avoided going deeply into these two questions as we are not directly concerned with internal European problems. The moment we or the Indian Bureau of Parliamentary Studies consider them, the various aspects of these questions will have to be considered or debated and there may well be differences of opinion. The whole German question is one of the main subjects relating to cold war. If we discuss it in detail, there will be a tendency for us to get entangled in this cold war approach.

If Ambassadors of the Big Powers are brought in, they will oppose each other, that is, if they are allowed to speak. For them to be mere spectators will not be good either. They will observe our own differences.

Speaking for myself, I shall find it difficult to deal with these matters just prior to the Summit Conference as well as the meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London.

304. Letter to Bharucha, Independent, Lok Sabha MP from East Khandesh, Bombay State; and Secretary-General, Indian Bureau of Parliamentary Studies, New Delhi.

Even apart from the German and the Berlin questions, disarmament itself is highly complicated affair. We want it to the farthest possible extent. But the moment we enter into details and the various proposals made by the two main parties, we get entangled. At this stage, it is better for us not to enter into these details and to lay stress on the broad idea of disarmament and the banning of nuclear tests. I do not think our discussion will help the Summit Conference in any way.

I feel, therefore, that it would be better to avoid holding such discussions.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

114. To Rajendra Prasad: Nominations for the Rajya Sabha³⁰⁵

March 13, 1960

My dear Mr. President,

As you know, four Members of the Rajya Sabha, nominated by the President, are due to retire soon. These four are:

- 1) Shri Prithviraj Kapoor
- 2) Shri M. Satyanarayana
- 3) Professor A.R. Wadia
- 4) Shri K.M. Panikkar

These persons can be either renominated for another term or others can be nominated in the vacancies created.³⁰⁶

I have already discussed this matter with you and made some suggestions which you were pleased to approve. I have consulted the Home Minister also who agrees with the recommendations I am making for your consideration.

Of these four Members, Shri K.M. Panikkar was nominated only a few months ago in a vacancy that had occurred. He has thus only been in the Rajya Sabha for a very short term and I would recommend that he should be nominated again.

About Shri M. Satyanarayana, you were pleased to suggest that he should continue. Professor A.R. Wadia is a good man, but there is another consideration

305. Letter to the President. File No. 48/60, President's Secretariat. Also available in JN Collection.

306. Their respective Rajya Sabha terms were: 1952-60; 1954-66; 1954-66; 1959-66.

to be kept in mind. He is the only Parsi Member of the Rajya Sabha and it would be a pity if he went out now and there was no Parsi representative left in that Sabha. The Home Minister and I would, therefore, recommend that he should be continued.

Thus, in effect, there is only one vacancy to be filled—that of Shri Prithviraj Kapoor. I think that a change might be made there. I recommend the name of Shri Tara Shankar Banerjee³⁰⁷ for this vacancy. Shri Tara Shankar Banerjee is probably the foremost literary figure in Bengal at present. He has received awards from the Central Government and from the Calcutta University. The Sahitya Akademi also gave him their prize for his book *Arogya Niketan*.³⁰⁸ He has received several other prizes.³⁰⁹ Both the Chief Minister of West Bengal and our Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs have strongly recommended his name. I think that it would be fitting if he was nominated to the Rajya Sabha.

I am recommending, therefore, for your consideration, that the following four names be nominated:

1. Shri Tara Shankar Banerjee
2. Shri M. Satyanarayana
3. Professor A. R. Wadia
4. Shri K.M. Panikkar

I trust you will approve of these nominations and direct that necessary steps be taken.³¹⁰

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

307. Also spelt as Tarasankar Bandyopadhyay.

308. Tarasankar Bandyopadhyay, *Arogya Niketan* (Calcutta: Bengal Publishers Pvt. Ltd, 1952).

309. He received Rabindra prize for this book for 1955 and Sahitya Akademi prize for 1956.

310. Rajendra Prasad sent his approval on 14 March.

115. To G.B. Pant: V.T. Krishnamachari for the Rajya Sabha³¹¹

March 17, 1960

My dear Pantji,

Your letter of March 17 about the President's nominations to the Rajya Sabha. I have already told him not to go ahead with this till we have considered the matter afresh in view of the other name we have in view. I gather that the processing has to be done by the Home Ministry.

I had a talk with V.T. Krishnamachari today. He is naturally looking forward to being nominated to the Rajya Sabha, but he would like this to be done in September or October. Till then he wants to have some kind of a long rest.

Is there any chance of another vacancy taking place towards the end of this year?

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

116. To B.C. Roy: No Vacancy for Tara Shankar Banerjee for the Rajya Sabha³¹²

March 20, 1960

My dear Bidhan,

As I spoke to you today, I was very anxious that Shri Tara Shankar Banerjee should come to the Rajya Sabha. He would have been an acquisition for as here both in the field of literature and otherwise. But, unfortunately, the only possible seat for him has now to be kept for the Deputy Chairman of our Planning Commission, V. T. Krishnamachari. We cannot drop V.T. Krishnamachari at this stage. I hope you will understand my difficulty and explain it to Tara Shankar Banerjee.³¹³

You might also mention this to Atulya Babu³¹⁴ who had written to me about Tara Shankar.

311. Letter.

312. Letter to the Chief Minister of West Bengal.

313. Eventually, Tara Shankar Banerjee was Rajya Sabha MP from 3 April 1960 to 2 April 1966.

314. Atulya Ghosh, Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Asansol, West Bengal and President, West Bengal PCC.

As Tara Shankar is already a member of your Council in West Bengal, he might continue to be there. It is not necessary to put someone else there in his place.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal]

117. To K. Ram: Japanese Correspondents³¹⁵

I think you should meet the Japanese correspondents as arranged³¹⁶ Shri Ramachandran of the P.T.I.³¹⁷ should also be asked to be present. You might write to Shri Shakhdar³¹⁸ that you have brought this matter to my notice and I am surprised that Mr. Speaker's name should be brought into this matter. No disrespect was meant to Mr. Speaker and there can be no question of bypassing his authority. But, as the complaints were made by foreign correspondents,³¹⁹ the External Affairs Ministry are naturally concerned to prevent any misapprehension or future difficulty. The Prime Minister feels that it would not have been courteous either to Mr. Speaker or to the complaining Japanese correspondents to ignore their request to him. Every foreigner's approach in India naturally takes place through the E.A. Ministry.

If Mr. Speaker so desires, the Prime Minister can come to his chamber and speak to him on the subject.

315. Note to the PPS, 23 March 1960. File No. 43(148)/60-61-PMS.

316. See Appendix 50 for K. Ram's note of 23 March.

317. K.S. Ramachandran, General Manager, PTI, and the Chairman of the Press Gallery Committee.

318. S.L. Shakhdar, Joint Secretary, Lok Sabha Secretariat.

319. See SWJN/SS/57/items 149 and 150.

(j) Legal System

(i) General

118. To Morarji Desai: Improving the Quality of Lawyers³²⁰

March 13, 1960

My dear Morarji,

The Chief Justice of India³²¹ came to see me today. He said that he was rather unhappy at the quality of lawyers generally going down. More particularly, in Delhi the level was very low except for the Attorney-General, Solicitor-General and some ex-judges. The rest are more or less of the District Court level. Delhi not having ever been the seat of a High Court, it did not attract the higher level of lawyers in the past. The result of this rather low level is that much more time is consumed in the work of the Supreme Court as many of the lawyers are not trained and competent enough to put their cases precisely.

It is therefore necessary, the Chief Justice said, to take steps to improve this quality. Some such steps have already been taken. There is the All India Bar Association which has been started and there is the Law Institute. These will no doubt help in improving the quality, but that will take time.

The Law Institute has just been started³²² and the Chief Justice is anxious to have it properly housed. Government has already given a piece of land near the Supreme Court for this building, but they have no money to put it up. Indeed, he said that the charge made for a small piece of land was fairly heavy and no concession was made as is often the case in regard to public buildings. The question now is of putting up this building which should be spacious enough to be the headquarters also of the All India Bar, to have a big enough hall for meetings (which unfortunately the Supreme Court has not got) and to have room for research workers to function.

The Ford Foundation has promised to help in building up the library and get some other equipment, but that Foundation does not give money for building. How are they to find money for this building? The Chief Justice would very much like the Government to give them Rs.10 lakhs for this building in two instalments of five lakhs each within two years. He was anxious that this should be decided soon so that they could start building operations. They are hard put to it for space and, the appointment of three new Supreme Court Judges,

320. Letter to the Union Minister of Finance.

321. Justice B.P. Sinha.

322. In 1956.

which is coming soon, is going to make their task more difficult.

Further, he wants a contribution of Rs. 2 lakhs per annum for the Law Institute at least for a few years for running expenses.

I told him that I would convey his wishes in this matter to our Finance Minister. I think that we should agree to his proposals.

Among those closely associated with this Law Institute are our Law Minister, the Attorney-General³²³ and also Sardar Swaran Singh.³²⁴ I believe I am one of the patrons. As our Law Minister is leaving for Geneva you can get further information about this matter from Sardar Swaran Singh or from the Chief Justice himself.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

119. To G.B. Pant: Improving Standards³²⁵

March 13, 1960

My dear Pantji,

I saw the Chief Justice of India today. I enclose a copy of a letter which I have written to our Finance Minister conveying the wishes of the Chief Justice about a grant for the Law Institute.

Afterwards, the Chief Justice discussed with me the state of various High Courts and, more especially, the Judges therein. I told him, what I had mentioned to you previously, that there is an impression that the quality of Judges of the Punjab High Court was going down and some new appointments had been criticised. It had been said that if the Bar in the Punjab was not good enough, Judges should be recruited from other States. He was inclined to agree with this and said that this process of deterioration became especially evident during the Chief Justiceship of Bhandari.³²⁶ Bhandari, according to him, was no good as Chief Justice and he had made some appointments which were also not good.

He then went on to say that some Chief Ministers had come in the way of proper appointments. He referred to Bihar where the appointment of a Judge

323. M.C. Setalvad.

324. Union Cabinet Minister of Steel, Mines and Fuel.

325. Letter to the Union Minister of Home Affairs.

326. Justice A.N. Bhandari was Chief Justice of the High Court of Punjab from 9 December 1952 to 18 November 1959.

was greatly delayed because the Chief Minister there insisted on recommending a particular person. That person was known to our Chief Justice here and he did not consider him a man of integrity although he had large practice. Therefore, he had not approved of this appointment. The matter was held up for over a year because the Chief Minister would not agree to any other names.

He referred to Allahabad where he had recently been. The trouble there, according to the Chief Justice, started by the appointment of Iqbal Ahmed as Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court.³²⁷ Iqbal Ahmed pushed his particular friends on to the Bench without much thought of other considerations. That has brought down the level of the Allahabad High Court which used to be high previously.

Then he referred to Bombay or rather the proposed new High Court for Gujarat.³²⁸ He said he saw hanky-panky going on in this matter and he was troubled by it. First of all, he was unhappy at the Bombay High Court being split up. But he could do nothing in the matter as this was a political decision. He was anxious, however, that the Chief Justice of the new Gujarat High Court should be a competent and first-rate person. No risks should ever be taken in regard to a Chief Justice because he sets the whole tone of a High Court. It is in this connection that he had referred to Iqbal Ahmed. He had heard that the prospective Chief Minister of Gujarat, Dr. Jivraj Mehta, was anxious to appoint one of the present Judges of the Bombay High Court as Chief Justice. I forget his name, but he is eighth or ninth in the list of the Bombay Judges. It did not seem to him proper to bypass the other Judges in favour of this person. Further, this particular person is related to Dr. Jivraj Mehta and is some kind of a brother-in-law. There had already been some criticism of this.

Dr. Jivraj Mehta had been to the Chief Justice some weeks ago and had suggested this particular name to him. The Chief Justice had pointed out certain objections to this appointment. But Dr. Jivraj Mehta had continued to insist. Thereafter the Chief Justice went to Bombay and discussed this matter with the Governor there and told him frankly his own opinion. Dr. Jivraj Mehta came to see him in Bombay also and continued to recommend the particular person of his own choice. Our Chief Justice still disagreed and continues to do so. He (the Chief Justice) suggested the name of the present Chief Justice of Bombay³²⁹ who, he thought, would be the right person to go and build up the new High Court. He had both judicial and administrative experience (I think he

327. Chief Justice, Allahabad High Court, 1941-46.

328. It was established on 1 May 1960.

329. Justice H.K. Chainani, Chief Justice of Bombay High Court, 1958-65.

is an I.C.S. man). The Chief Justice pointed out that whenever a new High Court was established, an experienced Judge was desirable. Thus, when the Bihar High Court was newly established,³³⁰ the then Government sent Justice Chamier³³¹ from Allahabad to Patna. Justice Chamier was not even connected with the old Calcutta High Court.

Dr. Jivraj Mehta made it clear to the Chief Justice that he wanted a Gujarati Chief Justice. Our Chief Justice did not fancy this demand based on provincialism. He then suggested to Dr. Mehta one or two other names from the present list of Bombay High Court Judges who were all senior to the person recommended by Dr. Mehta and would be otherwise suitable. But Dr. Mehta was not agreeable. He has continued to insist on his particular choice. There the matter rests.

The Chief Justice holds rather strong opinion on this subject. He particularly has taken objection to some kind of publicity being given in Gujarat to the proposed Chief Justice for the new High Court. In fact, this gentleman has already gone about in Ahmedabad etc. and made preparations for his going there.

I think that the reasons given by the Chief Justice for not selecting the person recommended by Dr. Jivraj Mehta are sound and that this kind of narrow provincialism should not be encouraged by us, more especially when already there are murmurs of criticism about the relationship. I do not know how far this matter has proceeded, but all this has to be borne in mind and clearly pointed out to Dr. Jivraj Mehta. The Chief Minister naturally should have a say in the appointment of the Chief Justice of a State, but the Chief Justiceship should not be considered as a gift from the Chief Minister.

The Chief Justice went on to tell me that it would be a good thing for some new Judges of the Supreme Court to be selected directly from the Bar. Why should they always come from serving Judges of the High Court? He hinted that for the new appointments to be made of the additional Judges of the Supreme Court, one such appointment recruited directly from the Bar should be made. The selection from serving judges usually led to short term at the Supreme Court and the Chief Justice of India could only serve for a relatively short term because of seniorities and the rest.

He said that it would be an excellent appointment as a new Judge of the Supreme Court for our Law Minister, Asoke Sen, to be so appointed. He was about 45 years old now. He would have about ten years as a Judge and then he

330. In 1916.

331. Justice Edward Maynard Des Champs Chamier.

could become Chief Justice of India and have another ten years. This long period would be very good for the Supreme Court and generally for the judiciary in India. He said that today he had mentioned this to Asoke Sen who went to call on him. Asoke replied that this was a novel idea and he could not give any answer without much more thought. I am passing this on to you.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(ii) The Nanavati Case

120. To S.A. Dange³³²

March 13, 1960

My dear Dange,

Your letter of March 13 about the action the Governor has taken in Commander Nanavati's case.³³³ In this matter I am somewhat concerned and, therefore, I think you should know the facts.

Three days ago when the judgment of the High Court was known, Nanavati's lawyers approached the Bombay Government and informed them that they were appealing to the Supreme Court as they thought it was a good case for appeal. The consideration of the application for leave to appeal in the Bombay High Court and possibly in the Supreme Court would take about two to three weeks before disposal. Nanavati was already in Naval custody, and he could remain there. They appealed to the Bombay Government to postpone Nanavati's being sent to an ordinary prison during this period, so that they could approach the High Court or the Supreme Court on the subject. The Chief Minister of the Bombay Government told them that this was unusual and they should approach the Central Government. Thereafter the matter came to me.

There was no question of showing any disrespect to the judgment of the Bombay High Court. The final judgment of that court or the Supreme Court would, of course, be carried out. The only question was whether during this

332. Letter to Dange, CPI, Lok Sabha MP from Central-South Bombay; and General Secretary, AITUC.

333. Sri Prakasa, the Governor of Bombay, had suspended the execution of the Bombay High Court's sentence of life imprisonment to Commander K.M. Nanavati and had also directed that he continue in Naval custody. Nanavati was convicted for the murder of Prem Ahuja on 27 April 1959. See also SWJN/SS/49/item 126.

intervening period of two or three weeks, Nanavati should be sent to prison or kept in Naval custody. It appeared that according to our Naval rules if an officer goes actually to prison even for a short time, he cannot come back to any Naval duty. Thus, if Nanavati went to prison now and was subsequently acquitted by the Supreme Court, he would nevertheless have to leave the Navy. It was, therefore, suggested that this contingency might be avoided without showing the slightest disrespect to the Bombay High Court or to any court.

So far as we are concerned, we have naturally to accept the decisions of our courts. You will notice, however, that even the Bombay High Court judges who have found Nanavati guilty of murder have paid a high tribute to him for his ability and work in the Navy. There can be no doubt that he is one of our top ranking men in the Navy. That certainly cannot come in the way of any decision on other matters.

When this matter came to me, I immediately consulted our Law Minister who was of the opinion that this was a fit case for an appeal to the Supreme Court. He saw nothing improper in Nanavati continuing in Naval custody till the application for leave to appeal to the Supreme Court was disposed of. We discussed this matter fully, and I agreed with our Law Minister's opinion. Thereafter, I got in touch on the telephone with the Chief Minister of Bombay and told him of our opinion and indicated the steps that might be taken. I also got in touch with the Governor of Bombay on the telephone and repeated this to him and asked him to consult the Chief Minister of Bombay.

Thus you will see that although the Governor is technically responsible, he acted on the advice given to him by us through the Chief Minister. The responsibility is entirely ours. It was after a good deal of thought that we decided to do this because we realised that this was an unusual procedure. It was, of course, completely within the law and the Constitution, and we felt that such a step was justified in the circumstances. There is no question of the rule of law being set aside. It was in accordance with law that this step was taken and, as I have pointed out, the actual execution of the sentence was affected only for this brief period. Meanwhile, Nanavati continues in custody. The verdict of the High Court has not set aside, but suspended for a brief while.³³⁴

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

334. Nehru copied this letter to G.B. Pant on the same day with the note: "Possibly this matter might be raised in Parliament. If so, I shall make a statement on the lines of my letter to Dange."

121. In the Lok Sabha³³⁵

Mr. Speaker: I have received notice of an adjournment motion relating to the "suspension of the sentence on Commander Nanavati, who has been held guilty of heinous crime." This has been done by the Governor of Bombay. All the same, is the hon. Prime Minister willing to say anything?

Some Hon. Members rose—

Mr. Speaker: I am not going to allow a discussion on this. It is a purely State matter, the action of the Governor..... (Interruptions).

Shri Hem Barua: This cannot be a State matter. This is an attack on the Constitution. According to law, all persons are equal, but a few persons seem to be more equal than others.

Shri Tyagi: It is not a matter pertaining to the States; it is a matter of constitutional propriety.

Shri Mahanty:³³⁶ On a point of order.

Shri C.K.Bhattacharya:³³⁷ This is a most unusual happening. Such things do not happen every day.

Shri Tyagi: It is a constitutional matter, not a matter of State alone.

Mr. Speaker: Let me, first of all, hear the point of order.

Shri Mahanty: My point of order is that it is most unusual that the actions of the Governor should be discussed on the floor of the House. The suspension of the order is under the clemency powers of the Governor, which is a prerogative exclusively conferred on the Governor.

Shri Tyagi: No question of clemency.

335. Discussion on a motion for adjournment, 14 March 1960, *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XL, cols 5679-5688.

336. S. Mahanty, GNP, Lok Sabha MP from Dhenkanal, Orissa.

337. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from West Dinajpur, West Bengal.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. Let us hear him.

Shri Mahanty: What I beg to submit as a point of order is that whatever the Governor has done, he has done under the exclusive privilege or prerogative guaranteed under the Constitution. I beg to submit that the actions of the Governor cannot be discussed on the floor of the House in this way. So, I beg of you not to allow the matter to be proceeded with.

Shri Rajendra Singh: ³³⁸ As I have given notice of the adjournment motion, may I point out.....

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. Let us hear the Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): It is for you to determine the propriety of any such motion, but, *prima facie*, of course, this matter does not concern this House. Nevertheless, I quite understand that members should be exercised about what they might think to be an unusual occurrence. I should like to state the facts insofar as we are concerned about this matter.

As the House knows, Commander Nanavati was tried at length and by a very considerable majority of the jury he was held not guilty. Thereafter, the Judge referred this matter to the High Court, and the High Court have come to the decision that he was guilty of the charge made against him. Even though they have paid, I believe, a compliment to the Commander as an officer who has ability, they have said, quite rightly, that the law must have its course. Now, obviously, the law must have its course and nothing that the Bombay Government or the Central Government might say or do should come in the way of the law having its course. It is not an arguable matter. We stand by it and nothing, if I may say so, was ever under the contemplation of any Government which might indicate any disrespect to the Bombay High Court or its Judges.

Now the facts are that on the night or late evening of the 10th of March, I came to know, I was informed, of the judgment that had been delivered almost completely—there was a small left-over—in this case by the hon. Judges of the Bombay High Court that some representatives of Commander Nanavati had approached the Bombay Government—some representative of the Government—and suggested or told him that they propose to prefer an appeal

338. PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Chapra, Bihar.

to the Supreme Court, naturally going up to the Bombay High Court for permission to do so. They appealed to him, to the Government to suspend the sentence till the application for appeal was being considered. It was a matter really of some days, not a long period, and there was a gap period in between. Well, the Bombay Government representative told them this was an unusual procedure and that they (Bombay Government) would like to have the opinion of the Central Government. He told those representatives of Commander Nanavati to approach the Central Government.

Shri Rajendra Singh: May I know the name of the representatives on behalf of Commander Nanavati who approached the Government?

Mr. Speaker: Let us first hear him patiently.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. There were written applications on his behalf. Then they came to me, as I said, late in the evening of the 10th March, This was a legal matter which was not wholly within my ken. So, I asked them to see our Law Minister and I myself got in touch with the Law Minister and requested him to go into this matter and advise me. The Law Minister was good enough to go into it and next morning, that is, 11th March morning, or rather afternoon, we had a talk, the Law Minister and I. The Law Minister said that this is going to be an appeal to the Supreme Court, the matter will go before the Bombay High Court for permission and that it will be for the Bombay High Court or the Supreme Court to consider this matter from the point of view of giving an extension to Naval custody, because there was the original order of the Bombay High Court for Naval custody, and that they will consider it. But there was slight gap period between this decision of the Bombay High Court and the decision on the application for leave to appeal. We are concerned with that period.

Now, I was informed that in case Commander Nanavati was sent to prison for this period now, under the rules of the Navy his future would be affected.

An Hon. Member: How?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Of course, whatever finally the decision is, we have to fulfil that. If the High Court or the Supreme Court decide that he must act in a particular way, we have to do it; there is no question about that, but there was no opportunity during this gap period, possibly some days, of that matter being considered in that light. The Law Minister, therefore, advised me that it would be completely in order if this provision of the Constitution were to be used in

order to suspend the execution of the sentence for the period in the disposal of the application for leave to appeal to the Supreme Court. I agreed with him. Thereafter, I got in touch with the Chief Minister of the Bombay Government on telephone and told him that this was our view in this matter and we were going to consider it. I also got in touch with the Governor and told him this and asked him to confer with and consult the Chief Minister. This has been, so far as we know, what we did.

Naturally I assume full responsibility for all this. The Chief Minister was good enough to accept our advice and to tell the Governor accordingly. The Governor thereafter issued that order, whatever it is. So the responsibility for this certainly lies with the Governor on the advice of the Chief Minister. But in effect it was our advice to them for them to accept or not. I do submit that far from going against the Constitution, it is respectfully within the Constitution. There is no doubt about it.

A question may arise though it was within the Constitution whether it was quite proper. It is legal and constitutional. That is not arguable. But whether there was any impropriety in this that question may well arise not really in this House but otherwise. Therefore I ventured to give these facts. As I said, we advised that the suspension should be till the disposal of the application for leave to appeal to the Supreme Court which meant more or less, I cannot exactly say, a member of days—a relatively brief period. After that, the matter will be considered by the High Court and the Supreme Court if the appeal is admitted. At that moment the High Court or the Supreme Court can consider independently of this order the extension of the period for Naval custody, that is, the original order. I cannot say of course what they would be pleased to decide. But it is that short period that was intended to be covered. I have not actually seen the order issued by the Governor. So I cannot precisely say what the terms of it are. But this was the intention and it is proposed to carry out that intention whatever the precise terms of the order might be. I submit that it is not only constitutional but there is no impropriety in the circumstances and there is absolutely no question of any disrespect to constituted judicial authority.

Shri Hem Barua: I want a clarification.

Mr. Speaker: Let me first of all dispose of the point of order. Then I will come to the rest of it.

May I know from the hon. Prime Minister as to what the jurisdiction of the Central Government is to advise the Governor?..... (Interruptions)
Order, order.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The Central Government is in constant touch with the Chief Ministers. The matter was referred to us indirectly by the Chief Minister. We naturally gave him our advice on the subject.

Mr. Speaker: If it is a matter on which under the Constitution the Central Government can advise, then I have only to consider, whether I should allow any discussion....(Interruption).

Some Hon. Members: Yes.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

I can allow discussion on all matters for which the Central Government is responsible to this House. With respect to other matters in regard to which the Central Government is not responsible here, however important the matter might be, it would not be proper for me to allow a discussion by stretching jurisdiction which we do not have. If, under the Constitution, the Central Government is competent to give advice, then I will certainly go into the further material and the subject matter.

Now, a point of order has been raised by Shri Mahanty. He drew my attention to Article 161 of the Constitution. Article 161 says:

“The Governor of a State shall have the power to grant pardons, reprieves, respites or remissions of punishment or to suspend, remit or commute the sentence of any person convicted of any offence against any law relating to a matter to which the executive power of the State extends.”

The Governor can grant pardons. Independently, possibly the President also can do so under the Constitution. This was on advice indirectly sought and given to the Chief Minister. Now, under the Constitution it is the Governor who has intervened and suspended this sentence which he is competent to do under article 161. It is exactly because the hon. Prime Minister has given advice that evidently this adjournment motion is brought here. I will treat that advice as only departmental advice and not given under the Constitution..... (Interruption). Under those circumstances....(Interruption). No, no; I am not concerned with it.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Is a State Government a department under the Government?

Mr. Speaker: It is not so. Here I am concerned with the constitutional aspect of it. Ordinarily the Central Government need not have given any

advice to the Governor. He ought to have done so himself as the Governor is the head of that particular State. If they have sought advice, that advice has been given. I would even ask the hon. Law Minister to give me advice as to under what article of the Constitution the Central Government is entitled to give advice. I will ignore that advice and act upon this that under Article 161 of the Constitution the Governor is competent to suspend the sentence. I would like to have clarification from the hon. Law Minister.

The Minister of Law (Shri A. K. Sen): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the administrative relations between the Centre and the States are set out in Article 256 of the Constitution and the jurisdiction of the constitutional powers of the Centre in relation to the States come into play. It is in Part XI, Chapter II, Article 256 onwards. These are the powers which are exercisable by the Centre in relation to the States and if they are exercised they must be obeyed by the States. But the present advice is not within the purview of that Chapter at all. It is an advice which in the course of the functioning of the two Governments is always given in the course of the day-to-day administration of the Centre and the States. Take for instance..... (Interruption).

Shri Rajendra Singh: Is it within the ambit of the Constitution?

Shri A. K. Sen: Unless there is any prohibition under the Constitution, I presume there is no constitutional impropriety in either the hon. Prime Minister or the hon. Home Minister of the Central Government giving this advice on any matter which may even fall exclusively within the jurisdiction of the State. It is then a question for the State either to accept or not to accept such advice. If it were an advice which was to be given under the Constitution, under Chapter II of Part XI, then it would not have been a discretionary matter for the State either to accept or not to accept. But in these matter....(Interruption) I hope the hon. Members will give me a little time to make these points. In regard to many States subjects which are exclusively within the States' jurisdiction, like agriculture, education and various other matters, though the executive power in relation to these subjects belongs exclusively to the States, yet the Centre gives advice in regard to these matters extensively and regularly. This advice may either be accepted or not accepted by the States, This is a matter falling purely within the routine administration of the State in the course of which the State wanted to have the views of the Centre. The hon. Prime Minister gave his views knowing fully well that it was a matter in which it was completely open to the State Government either to accept or not to accept

those views. They have accepted them in this case. In the other case they might have disagreed or might not have accepted the advice of the Prime Minister. I do not see any question of the hon. Prime Minister not being able to give advice in regard to a matter which falls exclusively within the State's jurisdiction. I suppose the day will never come when the Central Government will refuse to give advice to the States in regard to matters falling even within the exclusive jurisdiction of the States.

Mr. Speaker: Am I to understand the hon. Law Minister to say that it is not a direction which is given under Article 256?

Shri A. K. Sen: No, Sir. Certainly not.

Mr. Speaker: It is not a direction given under Article 256 and therefore it is not in discharge of any statutory obligation because it is open to the Central Government to give advice or to withhold the advice and it is equally open to that Government to accept that advice or not to accept that advice, whereas under Article 256 if advice, is given it amounts to a direction and under a later article of the Constitution if the State Government does not carry out that direction an inference can be drawn from that fact that there is a breakdown of the Constitution and the emergency powers can be invoked. It is clear from the hon. Law Minister's statement that this advice that has been given is not in exercise of the powers under Article 256. Therefore, it is a purely voluntary advice that was given. (Interruption) I am here to decide whether, in the discharge of the responsibilities of the Centre, there has been anything done which this House can take notice of. So far as that advice is concerned, it is open to the Governor to accept or not to accept that advice. It is equally open to them to have sought the advice, or not to have sought the advice.

Under the circumstances, the only point is whether the act of the Governor can be called to question in this House. The Governor is the head of a State. There is a Ministry there. There is also a legislature there. I do not know how far that legislature can go into that question, it is not for me to decide whether even that legislature can go into the matter or not, when the Governor is authorised to do so. He may do so in consultation or not, the matter does not arise.

So far as this matter is concerned, I am more than ever convinced that this is exclusively within the jurisdiction of the head of the State who exercises discretion in the matter, and therefore, this House has no competence to go into this matter. If such advice is given, it is an informal

advice.

Shri T. B. Vittal Rao:³³⁹ How can it be?

Shri Goray: May I draw your attention to one point, that the Prime Minister did not give advice only to the Chief Minister of the State, but he said he also had a talk with the Governor.

Mr. Speaker: I leave it to the Central Government to give such advice as they feel competent, and I am not going to allow adjournment motions relating to matters where strictly under the Constitution the Central Government is not responsible for any act.

Shri Hem Barua: The Prime Minister said he takes the responsibility.

Mr. Speaker: Hon. Members will kindly hear me. I am disposing of the point of order. In view of the fact that this leads to complications, I would like the Central Government to exercise this power of giving informal advice in as few cases as possible.

Shri T. B. Vittal Rao: What is this?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: May I submit that informal advice has to be given in as many cases as possible not as few. (Interruptions) If the hon. Member will permit me, what you have been pleased to say is perfectly correct; in such cases, the question does not arise, it is a very rare case; but in the broad acceptance of the term, this informal communication, as my colleague the Law Minister said, is a daily occurrence between the Ministries, the Prime Minister, the Home Minister, the Law Minister and every Minister and the respective Governments. That does not mean direction, but it means an attempt to help each other. We ask their advice, they ask our advice; it is a two-way traffic very often; so that, to say that we should not give informal advice and issue only directions would be exceedingly embarrassing.

339. CPI, Lok Sabha MP from Khammam, Andhra Pradesh.

122. To Sri Prakasa³⁴⁰

March 14, 1960

My dear Prakasa,
Your letter of March 13.

The order you issued on my advice has created a fairly big commotion. You will read of what happened in Parliament today, I am still unrepentant, and I think it was good that the order was issued. But I find that a change was made in it. We had suggested that the suspension should be till the disposal of the application for leave to appeal to the Supreme Court. Actually, the order went further and the suspension were till the disposal of the appeal itself. We have given thought to this matter and feel that an amending order should be issued. We are sending one of our Law Secretaries to Bombay with some papers in this connection.

Indira is doing fairly well, though the process of recovery is rather slow. She is at home now.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal]

123. To Y.B. Chavan³⁴¹

March 14, 1960

My dear Chavan,
I tried to get you on the telephone today without success. Anyhow, one of our Law Secretaries will have reached Bombay and will let you have our latest thinking.

There has been, as you must notice, something in the nature of a commotion over the suspension order, issued by your Governor. I still feel that the step we took was not wrong, but I wish that the suspension had been only till the disposal of the application for leave to appeal to the Supreme Court and not till the disposal of the appeal itself. We have suggested that this amending order might be issued.

I see that the Bombay judges have asked for a Full Bench, What this Bench will do I cannot understand. If one thing is certain, it is that the order was quite

340. Letter to the Governor of Bombay.

341. Letter to the Chief Minister of Bombay.

legal and constitutional, even though people may have different opinions about its propriety.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

124. To the Lok Sabha Secretariat³⁴²

I do not think it will be desirable for me to make a further statement on this subject in the Lok Sabha. It appears that the Bombay High Court is going to consider a related matter in a Full Bench soon.

I may, however, inform Mr. Speaker that I was approached in this matter by the Chief of Staff, Navy. Commander Nanavati had sent a representation to the Flag Officer of the Indian Navy in Bombay who had forwarded it to the Chief of Staff, Navy,³⁴³ in Delhi. Thereupon, the Chief of Staff, Navy, came to see me.

We have no information whatever about the views of the Judges of the Supreme Court and, in any event, it would be improper for me to refer to them in any way.

If Mr. Speaker so desires, the Member of Parliament who has asked for a statement to be made might be informed confidentially of what I have written above.

125. To R.M. Hajarnavis³⁴⁴

If you consider it necessary, you can certainly go to Bombay when this matter comes up in the High Court. I am rather doubtful about the Attorney-General being asked to go there. From the point of view you have mentioned, it would be helpful. On the other hand, this would make it appear that we are too intimately interested in this case. You might have a talk with the Attorney-General about the line to be adopted, etc. As far I can see, legally or constitutionally, the order of the Governor is final and cannot be challenged in a court of law.

342. Note, 15 March 1960.

343. Admiral R.D. Katari.

344. Note to the Union Deputy Minister of Law, 15 March 1960.

2. I suppose Shri Lokur³⁴⁵ is in Bombay. You might send him the first part of your note, that is, paragraphs 1 to 4.

126. In the Lok Sabha³⁴⁶

Mr. Speaker: I have received notice of two adjournment motions; one of them relates to the following:

“Contradictory statements made by the Governor of Bombay and Prime Minister with regard to the suspension of sentence of Commander Nanavati.”;

the other one reads thus:

“It is evident from the replies given by the Prime Minister and certain news items appearing in the press that the resources and the means of the State have been used by high naval officers in Bombay and New Delhi to represent the case of Commander Nanavati.....”

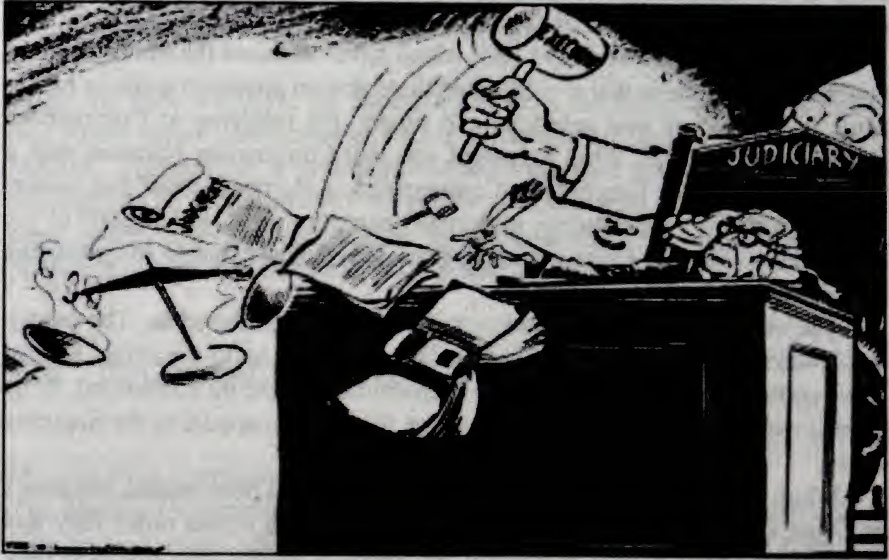
I disallowed them and intimated to the hon. Members that these are continuing matters, and, therefore, they could be taken up during the debates. However, the hon. Prime Minister is here, and if he wants to clear up any particular statement or any doubts that might arise, I shall allow him to do so. But, with respect to the hon. Members who have tabled this adjournment motion, I shall allow them an opportunity during the debates, to elaborate on this matter, arising out of the statement that will now be made by the Prime Minister and other statements that relate thereto. However, my original order of not allowing these adjournment motions will stand. However, to clear up this matter, I shall allow the Prime Minister to make a statement. Hon. Members might pursue this matter in the course of the debates. Now, the hon. Prime Minister.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: May I submit a word with regard to my adjournment motion?

345. Bhimaji Narayanjirao Lokur (1910-1998); advocate, Bombay High Court, 1933-39; Secretary, Union Law Ministry, from 31 March 1960 and thereafter Special Secretary, represented India in the Indo-Pakistan Western Boundary (Rann of Kutch) Case; Member, Law Commission; Chairman, Advisory Committee on the Revision of the Lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes; Judge, Allahabad High Court, 1968-1972; thereafter, practiced law in the Supreme Court.

346. Discussion on motion for adjournment, 16 March 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XL, cols 6194-6196.

[EXECUTIVE HAMMERS JUDICIARY]

RULER OF LAW

(From *The Times of India*, 16 March 1960, p. 1)

Mr. Speaker: I have disallowed both. Does he want to say anything on another adjournment motion, not relating to this?

Shri Braj Raj Singh: No, on this adjournment motion relating to the contradictory statements.

Mr. Speaker: I have disallowed it already. My original orders will stand. Anyhow, the hon. Prime Minister will make a statement now. I shall allow hon. Members to take up this matter if they like during the debates, and I shall give them opportunities during the debates.

Dr. Sushila Nayar: How can this point be elaborated during the debate on the Demands for Grants relating to the External Affairs Ministry?

Mr. Speaker: I do not know. It is for me to decide then whether it is relevant or not relevant. It may be referred to at the appropriate place.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): I understand that a matter rather related to this is going to be considered by the Bombay High Court, and I hardly thought that it would be proper for me at this stage to say anything more than I had already said. But, I have every wish to remove any misapprehensions, factual misapprehensions, that might have arisen.

There are two matters that I find, which have exercised the minds of some hon. Members. One is that it is said that there was an approach made to me by some people, some said relations and others. No relatives of Commander Nanavati came to me. What happened was that Commander Nanavati sent a representation to the Flag Officer Commanding in Bombay, about this matter. The Flag Officer Commanding in Bombay sent it to the Chief of Staff of the Navy, and it was the Chief of Staff of the Navy who came to me with this representation. That is one point.

The other is about a certain contradiction that is referred to. The advice that I ventured to give to the Bombay Government was to the effect that an order under the relevant article of the Constitution might be considered, to be effective till the disposal of the application for leave to appeal to the Supreme Court.

When I spoke last, I did not know what order had been issued, because I said that I had no idea. Subsequently, I saw that the actual order they had issued went a little further. It covered the period of appeal also. It was in their discretion. I had made a suggestion, and they thought that it was a better order and they decided to issue it. Those are the facts. I do not know if anything else remains.

III. DEVELOPMENT

(a) Economy

127. To *Indian Journal of Power and River Valley Development*: Kundah Project¹

I send my good wishes to the Special Number of the *Indian Journal of Power and River Valley Development* which is devoted to the Kundah Project in Madras.² This project is of importance and I am glad that its various aspects are going to be brought before the public. Indeed, in all our projects, big and small, we should endeavour to gain the understanding and cooperation of the public. It is with this cooperation only that full success comes.³

128. To Chester Ronning: Kundah Project⁴

March 3, 1960

My dear High Commissioner,

The Madras Government have invited me to visit the Kundah Project in the Nilgiris to perform some inauguration ceremony there. I have accepted this invitation, and I intend going there on the 24th March.⁵

As Canada is associated with the Kundah Project, the Madras Government have asked me to invite you to this ceremony there. If you are free to come there then and it is convenient to you, you can accompany me. My programme is to leave Delhi (Palam) on the morning of the 24th, reaching Coimbatore about mid-day. In the early afternoon, we go by road to the Kundah project and return in the evening to Coimbatore. I shall spend the night there and next morning I shall go to another of our projects, Parambikulam, which is on the border of Madras and Kerala. I shall return the same evening to Coimbatore and spend the night there. On the 26th morning, I return to Delhi, arriving here in the early afternoon.

1. Message to the special number of the journal, 1 March 1960. PIB.
2. Kundah Hydel Project, started on 29 June 1956.
3. The first generator was switched on by two workers in the presence of Nehru on 25 March. See items 14 and 134.
4. Letter to the High Commissioner of Canada to India. File No. 8/139/60-PMS. Copied to CS.
5. In fact, Nehru went there on 25 March, see item 134.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): I understand that a matter rather related to this is going to be considered by the Bombay High Court, and I hardly thought that it would be proper for me at this stage to say anything more than I had already said. But, I have every wish to remove any misapprehensions, factual misapprehensions, that might have arisen.

There are two matters that I find, which have exercised the minds of some hon. Members. One is that it is said that there was an approach made to me by some people, some said relations and others. No relatives of Commander Nanavati came to me. What happened was that Commander Nanavati sent a representation to the Flag Officer Commanding in Bombay, about this matter. The Flag Officer Commanding in Bombay sent it to the Chief of Staff of the Navy, and it was the Chief of Staff of the Navy who came to me with this representation. That is one point.

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When I spoke last, I did not know what order had been issued, because I said that I had no idea. Subsequently, I saw that the actual order they had issued went a little further. It covered the period of appeal also. It was in their discretion. I had made a suggestion, and they thought that it was a better order, and they decided to issue it. Those are the facts. I do not know if anything else remains.

130. To Vishnu Sahay: Sampurnanand's Note on the Planning Commission⁸

I have received a letter from the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh. With this he has attached a note.⁹ I would like you to circulate copies of this note to members of the Cabinet as well as Ministers of State. You may state that the Prime Minister has received this note from the Chief Minister of U.P. and this is being circulated at his instance.

131. To Sampurnanand: Explaining Planning¹⁰

March 12, 1960

My dear Sampurnanand,

Your letter of March 10 with which you have sent me a copy of your note to the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission.¹¹ As you have raised certain rather important points in regard to our procedures, I am circulating your note to the members of our Cabinet.

I hardly think any discussion in the National Development Council meeting on these subjects will lead to any fruitful result. There will be a vague general discussion. The point really is to seize hold of specific matters and deal with them.

I think that you are right in much that you say about unnecessary duplication and references. That is an ill we suffer from even within the Central Government apparatus, and we are trying to get rid of it in so far as possible.

But there are some things that you say with which I do not agree. Thus you say that it was expected that the Planning Commission would prepare a long term plan for the country covering a period of 20 to 25 years and that this has not been attempted.

I do not think it was our intention to prepare such a long term plan. 20 or 25 years is much too long a period to plan for, more especially in an age of very

8. Note to Cabinet Secretary, 12 March 1960. File No. 6/2/CF/60, Government of India, Cabinet Secretariat Papers.
9. For Sampurnanand's note regarding the functions of the Planning Commission in relation to States, see Appendix 56.
10. Letter to the Chief Minister of UP. File No. 17(384)/60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
11. See Appendix 56.

rapid technological change. But it is certainly true that planning means looking ahead. That is where perspective planning comes in. While we cannot prepare a plan for a long period, a broad skeleton of it has to be kept in view as well as the objectives aimed at. As a matter of fact, more detailed work has been done in regard to perspective planning than ever before. In fact, many so-called experts who have come here from other countries have been agreeably surprised at the amount of detailed work that has been done in this respect by us. I do not know how far you have received some of the papers from our Perspective Planning Division. Broadly, we have kept in view not only the Third Plan, but the Fourth Plan, that is, about ten years or more from now.

Planning consists not of listing various good things that we want, but of an organised approach, so that one step leads to another. It is an advance on many fronts.

In the main, we have to think in terms of what might be called modernising and improving our apparatus of production, both in agriculture and industry. If we are to industrialise, this cannot be done by odd industries being set up. The whole process has to be worked out as to which industry leads to others. From this point of view, the heavy and basic industries are vital. Without them there is no marked progress. Thus steel and machine building are of basic importance. So also power and oil and some chemical industries. With these is naturally associated transport. Educational advance and specially technical training to produce trained men and women are essential. If we build a plant today, we have to think in terms of having enough people specially trained to work that plant by the time it is ready.

Very few countries have done this type of planning. The Communist countries have done it, but in a different context and in a very rigid way. Ours has been the first real attempt at what might be called democratic planning. I think that, in spite of numerous difficulties, we have made good in a creditable way, and have laid the foundations for fairly rapid progress in the future. This type of planning has inevitably to be on an all India scale and by the Central Government. That is the Planning relating to major industries. Most of the States have not got the apparatus for it. Take U.P. I have found that in the past you have often gone to some so-called industrial magnates in Kanpur or elsewhere for industrial schemes. I think those people, though they know how to make money, know precious little about anything else, and their whole outlook is a perverted one. They may of course be used to some extent, but to rely on their advice in such matters is not going to do us much good.

But this really applies to the skeleton and to the basic industries. There is a vast field of smaller industries which must necessarily be with the State concerned.

There are some other matters I should like to mention to you, but for the moment let this suffice. I would repeat that I agree with you that there should be as little interference as possible from the Centre.

I would like to go to the other end of the scale, that is rural advance and the new attempts being made at what is known by that ugly phrase "democratic decentralisation". From such accounts as we have had in places where this has been introduced, the changes taking place are both rapid and good. I am becoming more and more a believer in this process.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

132. To V.T. Krishnamachari: No Interference with State Governments¹²

17th March, 1960

My dear VT,

Your letter of the 17th March with which you have sent me a letter and a note from Dr. Sampurnanand.¹³ He had sent me this note previously and I had read it.

The various matters he has suggested should certainly be considered. I am clearly of opinion that we should interfere as little as possible with State Governments.

As for this matter being discussed at the meeting of the National Development Council,¹⁴ I had written to Dr. Sampurnanand that such a discussion is not likely to be helpful. It will be vague and most if not all the Chief Ministers will probably press for less interference by the Central Government or the Planning Commission. What is required is a closer examination of these various points. If, however, Dr. Sampurnanand wants to refer to it, he may do so. But I suggest that you need not include it in your official agenda.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

12. Letter to the Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission.

13. See Appendix 56.

14. The fourteenth meeting of the NDC was held on 19 and 20 March 1960 in New Delhi. Summary record of this meeting is available on the Planning Commission website—planningcommission.gov.in/reports/genrep/50NDCs/vol 1_1to14.pdf.

133. To Micha³ Kalecki: Thank You for Visiting¹⁵

March 19, 1960

Dear Dr. Kalecki,¹⁶

Professor Mahalanobis tells me that you are due to leave for Poland tomorrow morning. I was hoping to have another talk with you before your departure, but it seems it will be not possible to do so now.

My colleagues and I in the Planning Commission greatly appreciate the trouble you took in coming to India for three months to take part in research studies in connection with our Plans, and have discussion with the Members of the Planning Commission on important aspects of our economic development. The research workers of the Planning Unit of the Indian Statistical Institute and the Perspective Planning Division of the Planning Commission, who had the advantage of being closely associated with you, have derived much benefit from your visit; this has provided fresh stimulus to their work.

I hope this visit of yours will open new opportunities of interchange of technical information and planning experience between our two countries.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

134. At Kundah: Inauguration¹⁷

Mr Governor,¹⁸ the High Commissioner,¹⁹ the Chief Minister²⁰ and friends, I am sorry, I cannot speak to you in the beautiful Tamil Language. [Applause] I can speak to you in Hindi or English. I do not think many of you will understand my Hindi. But I speak in English, my friend here is going to translate it into Tamil.²¹ Last year, I paid a visit to this Kundah project, and your engineers here took me round and me showed me how this was developing. Now, I am happy to be here and to be present at the completion of one major stage of this

15. Letter. File No. 17(45)/58-62-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

16. (1899-1970).

17. Speech at the commissioning of one of the two units of the Kundah Hydel Project, 25 March 1960.

18. Bisnuram Medhi.

19. Chester Ronning.

20. K. Kamaraj.

21. Nehru's speech was rendered in Tamil by O.V. Alagesan.

project, and I want to congratulate all those concerned with it, the Engineers, Canadian and Indian, other mechanics, other workers, who have helped in speedily bringing to completion this first phase. It was fitting therefore that the inauguration ceremony should formally be done by one of your own people, one of your workers rather than by me. He deserves congratulations as you do, not I, for this work.

I should like to express my gratitude and the gratitude of my Government to the Canadian Government for the help they have rendered in this very important scheme in South India. Their help of course is very welcome and we are very grateful. But it is even better and it makes me happier just to see this project built up with the joint cooperation between the Canadian Government and their engineers and our engineers, because cooperation in these major works like, or for that matter in small works, is always good, for all those who take part in it.

What is this big project over the Kundah river that has been built? You people who are here, and many of you, have helped in building it. What you have built, not just something in cement, in brick or mortar or whatever it is iron or steel, but you have built something which will endure for a long, long time and which will help you or help this area round about to become more prosperous. Therefore, all of you who have helped in building this have helped to some extent in building the future India that is gradually taking shape, all over this country, the new India. So you have built not only the Kundah project which will produce electric power but built partly, new India.

I do not know what our engineers here, how they explain all this to the workers, because it is important that each worker, whatever job he may do, should understand what he is doing, should understand, that this is not only his little work but it is something big that is coming up; that he is taking part in constructing a big scheme which will bring happiness to large numbers of people; that he is taking part in the building up of new India. He must be made to understand that. Only then, does his work and the engineers' work become fruitful, and full of meaning, that is to say the engineers and the mechanics and the others must see the picture, not only of the completed scheme, not only of dams and power houses and electric wires taking that power to distant parts of the country, but they should see and they should try to explain to every humble worker the significance of this, because it has something to do with the lives of millions of people. It is something which will bring happiness and work to large numbers of people and which will raise the standards of living of all of you.

I like coming here among your beautiful fountains, because I am myself a child of the mountains, the mountains of the North, and so I feel at home

among mountains and mountain people. And in coming here, I am glad to meet you and meet the Todas, the Kotas, the Kurumba people and the Irulas, whom I met last year,²² because we want all of you people to progress, all of you people to take part in the great work that we are doing for India and the people of India and you must all remember that whatever our tribe may be, whatever part of the country we may live in, we are all one great people, the people of India, and we have to work together in friendship and affection for the betterment of all of us and all of our country.

This Kundah project is a symbol of national cooperation and international cooperation. Therefore, it represents something that is very good because it is through the nation working together and cooperating with other nations that we shall progress and the world will progress.

Therefore, again I congratulate all of you who have been associated with this work in whatever degree, whether they have come from Canada or India, whether they are the humble people of the villages here who have worked because you all have had a share in the building of this great work. I congratulate you and I hope that the rest of this project will be as speedily and as well completed as this first phase.

I have had great many things in my mind which I would like to tell you and to share with you but it is late now and you have come from far villages. So I shall not keep you. And now in the end I am giving you all my affection and good wishes. [Applause]

Now will you say with me Jai Hind three times?

Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!

(b) Community Development and Social Welfare

135. Cabinet Meeting: Organisation of Service Cooperatives²³

Cabinet considered the summary dated January 19, 1960, from the Ministry of Community Development & Cooperation (Department of Cooperation). During the discussion, Prime Minister drew attention to the stultifying effect on the

22. See SWJN/SS/49/items 7 and 63.

23. Minutes of the Cabinet meeting, Case No. 120/13/60, Thursday, 3 March 1960. File No. 14/1/CF/60, Cabinet Secretariat. Also available in File (Cabinet Meetings from March 1960 onwards), Planning Commission.

cooperative movement of excessive financial or other assistance from Government. What counted was the development of leadership and training. Government assistance should be concentrated on training and education at various levels, which would enable the cooperatives to take a leading role in promoting agricultural production. Some aid for managerial assistance was permissible in the earlier stages of a cooperative society, but such aid should gradually taper off. What was important was the strength of the movement at the base, at the primary level. Large-scale enterprises like cooperative sugar factories were of secondary importance. A phased programme of revitalisation of existing societies and of development should be taken in hand for each area. Reference was made to the statement in the summary that one of the difficulties of cooperative marketing societies was their inability to compete with the private trader, who could offer prices to the members which were higher than the prices fixed by Government. It was mentioned that this question had arisen also in connection with the Agriculture Ministry's project of intensive work for agricultural development in selected districts. It was noted that the problem would be discussed in the Planning Commission in connection with the subject of agricultural prices.

Prime Minister suggested that the next meeting of the National Development Council should consider a paper on Cooperation.

136. To the Khadi and Village Industries Commission: The Charkha and the Machine²⁴

The pavilion of the Khadi & Village Industries Commission at the World Agriculture Fair²⁵ was in some ways one of the most attractive in the Exhibition. Not only did it bring out the various activities of the Commission, but it did so with great taste. I should like to congratulate those who were responsible for this pavilion.

I have no doubt that khadi and village industries are needed in India and that there is considerable scope for them. I have often stated that I do not look upon this question as one of conflict between machine techniques and the simpler village techniques. There might occasionally be some overlapping which should be decided on the merits.

24. Message forwarded to Nalin Mehta, KVIC, for the KVIC exhibition which opened in Bombay on 18 March 1960, 3 March 1960.

25. Held in New Delhi between 11 December 1959 and 29 February 1960.

The big machine is the resultant of progressive changes and adaptations to the small machine. Higher techniques in the art of production should presumably be an advance. I believe it is, because they add to the productive capacity of an individual or a country. Some parts of the world have conquered the problem of poverty by the use of higher techniques and sources of power. We can only deal with our major problems through higher techniques and utilising these new and additional sources of power. There is no alternative to this.

But, even doing so, a vast field is left for village industries. Therefore, it is essential for us to encourage these village industries. In doing so, we should also use better techniques and thus improve them.

I think that this approach is a more helpful one than a repetition of the old argument as to which is better—the charkha or the big machine. The charkha or village industry fulfil a role in the circumstances in India and that is an important role. The big machine inevitably comes in because it is the symbol of the modern world and its productive capacity.

Our basic approach must be to add to our production and we must use every legitimate and feasible method for that purpose. Among those methods is the important method of the small machine and village industry which bring into play and into production the unused manpower of the country. The greatest waste today in India is the waste of this manpower. The forms of using that manpower are of course many and we should utilise a number of them.

137. To K. Ram: Help for Tribal Welfare at Kotagiri ²⁶

Last year when I went to Ootacamund, I visited Kotagiri in the Nilgiris and met many representatives of the Toda and Kota tribes.²⁷ I found that Dr. Narasimhan²⁸ was doing very good work among these neglected people. Since then I have had a number of reports of how Dr. Narasimhan is serving these people with enthusiasm and at considerable sacrifice to himself. In fact, he is devoting part of his salary to this work. He has not received much help in this matter from outside.

26. Note to the PPS, 8 March 1960.

27. Nehru visited Ootacamund (Ooty) on 30 May 1959 for the Planning Committee Seminar. See SWJN/SS/49/items 7, 63 and 164.

28. Dr S. Narasimhan (1917-1978); medical practitioner and social activist from Nilgiri District.

2. Dr. Narasimhan, who has come to Delhi to attend some committee meeting, came to see me today. I believe he is returning to Kotagiri tomorrow. He gave me a letter which I enclose.

3. I have formed a high opinion of Dr. Narasimhan. He is a kind of person whom I would like to help, and the work he is doing among the tribal people is also of importance, more especially as these Todas and Kotas are normally neglected. They live in rather remote valleys in the Nilgiris.

4. From his letter to me and from his talks with me, I gathered that his greatest need is for a jeep. I want to supply him with a jeep for his work. I am told that this costs about Rs. 11,000/-. We might send this money to him either from the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund or from the Discretionary Grant.

5. I think this purchase of a jeep should be arranged through the Collector of the Nilgiris who knows Dr. Narasimhan. The present Collector has recently come to Ootacamund.

6. I suggest, therefore, that you write to Shri O.H. Dias, Collector of the Nilgiris at Ootacamund and tell him of my wish to present a jeep car to Dr. Narasimhan for his work. Shri Dias might find out, presumably from Madras, what the price of such a jeep will be and let us know. Later we can send the money to Shri Dias for the car.

7. As I am going to see the Kundah Project on the 24th of this month, I shall, no doubt, meet the Collector there as well as Dr. Narasimhan. By that time I hope this matter will have been finalised.

138. To a School at Alwal: Overcoming Backwardness²⁹

I send my good wishes to the Gandhi Memorial Multipurpose High School at Alwal in Hyderabad District. I welcome the special stress it lays on the advancement of backward communities. I do not like the idea of educational institutions being reserved for any community because we want children of people of all grades to mix with each other. But to lay special stress on backward communities cannot be objected to and indeed is often desirable.

A community is backward basically because of economic conditions as well as social customs and restrictions. The basic method of tackling these problems is education and training so as to make those people fitter to take up responsible positions in national activities. Every other method, which may have some advantage for a short time, is really a temporary expedient. It is

29. Message, 12 March 1960.

through education and training that backward communities advance in the economic and social sphere.

From the point of view of social prejudices and customs, the law should help, as it has helped in India, but often social prejudices die hard. They are affected more by a change in the economic structure as well as by educational advance. A purely agricultural society tends to be rather static and to preserve these old undesirable customs and divisions. Industrialisation creates conditions where the old customs do not work. We are now going through a fairly rapid process of industrialisation. That is probably the most powerful urge for change among the depressed classes and in their relationship to others. This, taken with the help of legislation and our general approach, has, I think, succeeded in bringing about a very marked change in Indian society. I have no doubt that this will continue and this bane of our society, which has existed for so long, will progressively disappear. But ultimately it is education and training that is the basis for this revolutionary change.

139. To Durgabai Deshmukh: Multiple Approaches to Social Welfare³⁰

March 13, 1960

My dear Durgabai,

Thank you for your letter of March 13.³¹ I am taking the liberty of sending a copy of it to the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh.

It is rather difficult for me to express precise opinions about the matters in argument. They deal with practical questions of working, not so much with theoretical approaches. As I am not fully acquainted with the practical aspect, I hesitate to give a definite opinion. Also in such matters, we have to convince the Chief Ministers and the State Governments and cannot issue directions from here. We are often getting complaints from State Governments about the Central Government spreading out its tentacles over State affairs. (This has nothing to do with the Social Welfare Board.) It is quite possible that this particular question might be raised at the next meeting of the National Development Council.

30. Letter to the Chairman, Central Social Welfare Board, New Delhi. File No. 17/(19)/57-60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

31. See Appendix 27.

Looking at this matter from the theoretical point of view in its broad aspects, two or three things strike me. One is that the work being done by the Central Social Welfare Board or its State branches, which has been quite good, should not be injuriously affected. Even if there is a changeover to some other procedures, this should not be done in such a way or in such a hurry as to harm the work being done.

Secondly, our general approach to all development programmes in rural areas is progressively to hand over such work to the Panchayat Samitis or the Zila Parishads. That is, the responsibility for it should be made that of the Panchayat Samitis or the Zila Parishads. But the Governments concerned, both State and Central, should give them every help in carrying it out. We feel that we have to develop the sense of responsibility among our people at the lowest level so that they may throw themselves into this work and not merely rely on others to do it, even though others may do it better. We have to rouse the whole countryside and make it feel the burden of responsibility. Our experience during the last few months, ever since the Panchayat Samitis were started in Rajasthan and Andhra has been encouraging. Quite a new life has come into these villages and their Panches and Sarpanches because they now feel they have to make good. They may make mistakes and indeed they are likely to do so. But the only ultimate success lies in this type of awakening. This does not mean that we leave them high and dry. All kinds of advice and help must necessarily come from above.

Thirdly, the role of voluntary organisations is, I think, of the utmost importance. It would be unfortunate indeed if these organisations were not allowed to function properly. I think they should be encouraged in every way.

These are the three main approaches in my mind. But, as I have said above, they have to be adapted to circumstances and the practical aspects of the problems to be faced.

As the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh will be coming here soon, you will no doubt discuss these matters with him. Meanwhile, a copy of your letter is being sent to him.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

140. To Shriman Narayan: Meeting Vinoba³²

March 22, 1960

My dear Shriman,

Your letter of March 22.³³ It is not easy for me to go a long distance from Delhi on the 2nd April, but I shall try to do so if I can manage to fit in. I am engaged here in the forenoon on the 2nd April. How long would it take me to get there, stay there and come back? I suppose this will mean about five hours at least. Perhaps I could start from here at about 2 p.m., returning at 7 p.m. Will that be feasible?³⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(c) Food and Agriculture

141. Cabinet Meeting: Agricultural Technology³⁵

Cabinet considered the summary dated January 20, 1960, from the Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation (Department of Community Development).

2. During the discussion Prime Minister drew attention to the existing unsatisfactory arrangements regarding the manufacture and supply of improved agricultural implements, especially steel ploughs. It was mentioned that the steel allocated to State Governments for agricultural implements was diverted

32. Letter to Shriman Narayan, Member, Planning Commission. From Shriman Narayan (ed.) *Gandhi Nehru Vinoba*, (New Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1968) p. 105.

33. Shriman Narayan had enquired if it would be possible for Nehru to meet Vinoba Bhave on 2 April at the Sarvodaya Ashram at Patti Kalyana on the main Delhi-Karnal road as he was on his way to Agra and beyond, and was not likely to come to Delhi in the near future.

34. Shriman Narayan replied on 23 March that the Delhi-Karnal road was excellent and the Ashram was an hour and quarter's drive from Delhi. Nehru went to meet Vinoba; for Nehru's address to villagers on 2 April, see SWJN/SS/59.

35. Minutes of the Cabinet meeting, Case No. 121/13/60, Thursday, 3 March 1960. File (Cabinet Meetings from March 1960 onwards), Confidential Section, Planning Commission.

to other uses and in practice little control was exercised (or exercisable) on fabricators. Prime Minister observed that it was essential that, in addition to the industrial units in the private sector engaged in this work, each State Government should have at least one unit of its own for producing agricultural implements of improved types. He also observed that it was essential that every Development Block should have a centre for the servicing of such implements.

3. During the discussion it was emphasised that greater attention should be given to the quality of seed produced at the seed farms. In this connection, it was mentioned that the Committee on Plan Projects were shortly appointing a team to evaluate the work done in respect of seed multiplication and distribution.

142. Cabinet Meeting: Land Reform³⁶

Cabinet considered the Planning Commission's paper on "Progress of Land Reform and suggestions for further Implementation". It was noted that, while there had been progress in enacting legislation in regard to ceilings for agricultural holdings and other aspects of land reform and people in rural areas were getting adjusted to the new agrarian pattern, the speed of implementation of the legislation was not satisfactory and needed much greater concentration of effort.

Prime Minister drew attention to the fact that in several States the total amount of compensation paid till now, whether in bonds or cash in connection with the abolition of intermediaries was extremely small. This was a matter of serious concern. For instance, in Bihar, ten years after the legislation abolishing intermediaries had been enacted, against a total compensation of Rs.240 crores which was payable, less than Rs.5 crores had been paid whether in cash or bonds.

Reference was made to the following suggestions in the Planning Commission's papers-

"(7) In the legislation on ceilings, there may be provision for enabling the State Government to fix for a prescribed period a ceiling differing from the general ceiling for areas where waste tracts are to be developed with mechanised equipment.

36. Minutes of the Cabinet meeting, Case No. 122/13/60, Thursday, 3 March 1960. File (Cabinet meetings from March 1960 onward), Planning Commission. Also available in File No. 4/3/CF/60, Cabinet Secretariat.

- (8) Land reform should be implemented as an important part of the community development programme, with increasing association of popular democratic agencies.”

In regard to the suggestion that popular democratic agencies, such as panchayats, should be made to play a larger role in the implementation of land reform, it was decided that this question would need further consideration in view of the fact that at present many panchayats and panchayat samitis contained a large proportion of the bigger landholders, whose interests might run counter to what land reform legislation aimed at.

Prime Minister drew attention to the work done at the Banthra Farm near Lucknow for the reclamation of Usar and suggested that much greater effort should be made for expanding such reclamation. The processes involved were simple and comparatively inexpensive. Large areas could thus be made available for the land-less.

Prime Minister also referred to the possibility of using a small hand-crushing machine for turning dry leaves into powder for use as fertilizer; and said that he would arrange for a note to be circulated on the subject.

143. To Partap Singh Kairon: Water Logging in Punjab³⁷

March 5, 1960

My dear Partap Singh,

Someone from the Punjab came to see me today and spoke to me about water logging there. Of course, I knew about it and I have often written to you on this subject. You were also, I believe, intending to pass some legislation to enforce some kind of work in this connection. I do not know how that matter stands now.

The point is that something effective has to be done before the next monsoon. The person who came to see me suggested that prisoners in jails might be asked to help in this work of digging channels for the water to flow out. Such a channel is only useful if it is completed and water can flow right through.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

37. Letter to the Chief Minister of Punjab.

144. To Chief Ministers and Others: K. N. Kaul on Dry Leaf Manure and Drinking Water³⁸

The attached notes³⁹ by Dr. K.N. Kaul, Director of the National Botanical Gardens in Lucknow, will interest you. These notes show how much can be done simply without much expenditure of money. I hope you will draw the attention of your Departments concerned to these matters and follow this up.

145. To Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim: The Farakka Barrage⁴⁰

9th March, 1960

My dear Hafizji,

I have had a deputation today from West Bengal M.P.s. They were rather agitated about the delay in our accepting the Farakka and Ganga Barrage Scheme. Evidently, somebody had told them that this scheme was not likely to be included in the Third Five Year Plan. Hence the excitement and perturbation. Also, they were told that some further inquiry would be made before any decision could be taken. All this has troubled them greatly and so they came to me.

I could not give them any precise or definite information about this Scheme except broadly that we have been in favour of it for a long time and have been rather held up by considerations relating to Pakistan. I shall be grateful to you if you will kindly let me know how the matter stands.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

38. Note to Chief Ministers, Ministers and various officials, 8 March 1960. File No. 4/3/CF/60, Cabinet Secretariat. Also available in File No. 31/73/56-71-PMS.

On 4 March he had circulated these notes to V.T. Krishnamachari, Shriman Narayan and some Ministers.

39. See Appendix 57.

40. Letter to the Union Minister of Irrigation and Power, File No. 17(156)/56-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. Copied to V. T. Krishnamachari, Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission.

146. To V.T. Krishnamachari: State Trading in Foodgrains⁴¹

18 March, 1960

My dear VT,

I am sending you a copy of a letter dated March 16 which I have received from S.K. Patil.⁴²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

[AN ACT OF FAITH]

You Said It

By LAXMAN



Can't prove to you in anyway that the food prices have come down, but please believe me they have come down!

(From *The Times of India*, 24 March 1960, p. 1)

41. Letter to the Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission. Copied to G.B. Pant.

42. See Appendix 34.

147. To Kailas Nath Katju: Horsebreeding⁴³

March 18, 1960

My dear Kailas Nath,

I had a visit from Nawabzada Rashiduzzafar Khan today and he spoke to me and gave me a letter. This relates to his horse breeding farm in or near Bhopal.⁴⁴ I do not know this place, but horse breeding is in a bad way in India and we want to encourage it wherever it exists. It would be a pity, therefore, if anything was done which came in the way of the breeding of good and thoroughbred horses. I hope you will please look into this matter. I enclose a copy of the letter the Nawabzada gave me.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

148. To V.T. Krishnamachari: Exempting Sugar Factories from Land Ceiling⁴⁵

March 23, 1960

My dear VT,

I enclose a letter, in original, from the Chief Minister of Madras. Subramaniam also spoke to me on this subject.

The question of exempting or not the land under and cultivated by sugar factories is certainly not free from difficulty. Arguments can be advanced in favour of exemption. On the other hand, if these are exempted, this can be severely criticised. It does seem odd that people with a little patch of land must part with some of it, while huge sugar factories continue to own thousands of acres. I do not see how we can justify this, even from the point of view of greater production. It is easy for a large land-holder thus to get exemption by starting some kind of a factory. I think that this matter requires further

43. Letter to the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh.

44. Nawabzada Rashiduzzafar Khan's letter of 15 March asked Nehru to save his Bhopal Stud and Agricultural Farm, spread over 95 acres in the eastern suburbs of Bhopal, from acquisition, by persuading the MP Government to treat it as an "Animal Husbandry Unit of National Importance."

45. Letter to the Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission. File No. 17(96)/56-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

consideration. It might be possible to devise some other scheme, such as, the formation of cooperatives for large-scale cultivation out of the land given up by the sugar factories. But to allow the big concerns to hold on to large areas of land, while small people are deprived of it, could hardly be justified. To overrule a State Government in this matter becomes even more difficult.

Yours sincerely,
J. Nehru

(d) Industry

149. To Vaikunth L. Mehta: Stay at Your Post ⁴⁶

March 5, 1960

My dear Vaikunthbhai,

I have your letter of the 28th February.⁴⁷ I can quite understand your wish to resign from the Chairmanship of the Khadi & Village Industries Commission. At the same time, I find that your colleagues in the Commission as well as Lal Bahadurji⁴⁸ are very much averse to your resigning. I have no doubt that your presence there as Chairman is very helpful and has a salutary effect. Since you are prepared to continue as a member of the Board, I do not see any strong reason why you should not continue to be Chairman. I realise that the Chairman has to shoulder greater responsibilities. That is the fate of men who are respected and whose advice is valued. I would earnestly suggest to you to continue as Chairman even though you might not be able to give as much time to it as you would like to.⁴⁹

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

46. Letter to the Chairman of the KVIC. File No. 17(180)/56-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. Copied to Lal Bahadur Shastri.

47. See Appendix 5(a).

48. Lal Bahadur Shastri, Union Minister of Commerce and Industry.

49. For Mehta's reply of 16 March, see Appendix 5(b).

150. To Jagjivan Ram: Manufacture of Diesel Locomotives⁵⁰

5th March, 1960

My dear Jagjivan Ram,

Some days ago, a proposal was put up before the Cabinet on behalf of your Ministry to set up the manufacture of diesel locomotives. We had no time to consider it then and it was postponed. I have been looking through these papers again.

I suppose it is necessary and even inevitable to shift over gradually to diesel locomotives. From this it follows that we should manufacture them in India. The real question to be considered is how to do this and whether they should be in the private sector or the public sector.

In the note, it is mentioned that steel locomotives are out of date for modern traction and will, therefore, gradually go out of use. How exactly will this affect the Chittaranjan factory? Will it become quite out of date? Presumably this will take some time and it is mentioned in the note that steam locomotives might continue to operate for forty years. That, of course, is a long period and a great deal is likely to happen during this time. The pace of technological advance is rapid nowadays. It may even be that atomic energy is used for the purpose in the next generation. The point I wish to understand is whether the Chittaranjan locomotive plant will just fade out or can it be adapted for other purposes. It is mentioned in the note that it has been decided to arrange for the production of electric locomotives at Chittaranjan.

It is further stated in the note that it has been found definitely preferable to entrust diesel locomotive production to private industry which can cater not only for the railways but also to the needs of other users of diesel engines, in particular ports, steel plants, mines and refineries. In effect whether for the railways or for other purposes, the buyer will be very largely the Government. So far as the railways are concerned, it will be entirely the Government. Normally speaking, where the buyers in a big way are Government, it is considered desirable for production to take place in the public sector. For the railways specially it would normally be considered preferable for them to fulfil their own needs and manufacture their own equipment. To depend in a big way on private supply of something vital, like locomotives, would be rather going away from our present approach.

50. Letter to the Union Minister of Railways. File No. 17(385)/60-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

This argument might well be used for steam locomotives. But we decided to make them ourselves, although Tatas also made some though I believe they were of a smaller type. As you will remember, there has been very much argument in Parliament about the price of the Tata locomotives and the general impression has been that their prices were too high. Ultimately there was arbitration and some middle figure was arrived at. If Chittaranjan had not been there, our position vis-a-vis a private supplier would have been more difficult. Personally, I rather like some kind of competition between the public sector and the private sector as this keeps both up to the mark.

Apart from our general approach as given in our industrial policy resolution, which would apply to this matter, I have little doubt that Parliament is not likely to react favourably to a proposal of these diesel locomotives to be manufactured in the private sector.

Presumably we shall require other types of diesel engines also, such as marine diesel engines. It would obviously be advantageous to combine the manufacture of diesel railway locomotives with marine diesel engines rather than separate them and incur additional expense. The railways as such may not be interested in the marine engines but we have to look at the problem in the larger interest of the country.

It seems to me that in the note for the Cabinet the comparative advantages of these diesel engines to be made in the private sector or public sector are not adequately discussed. According to our general policy, this manufacture should go into the public sector unless some overriding considerations are put forward.

There is also another fact to be borne in mind. We want to encourage the private sector but we do not wish to add to the concentration of economic power in a few private concerns.

I think all these matters require careful consideration before we come to a decision. It would require a great deal of argument to convince Parliament on this subject.⁵¹

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

51. For Jagjivan Ram's reply of 12/14 March, see Appendix 29.

151. To K. Ram: Oil Prices⁵²

Yes—you may write to them.⁵³ Tell them that I have long been worried about this matter as, on the face of it, it is illogical and unfair. I remember coming across this anomaly many years ago (in 1936-37) in the Burma oilfields. Oil was more expensive right at the well mouth than in Rangoon or even in London. Repeatedly I have raised this question but with no result. When we start producing our own oil then we shall be in a position to deal with the companies.

152. To K.D. Malaviya: Soviet Dealing with the Private Sector⁵⁴

12th March, 1960

My dear Keshava,

The Soviet Ambassador⁵⁵ came to see me today to talk about various matters. He also referred to the recent agreement about oil which they had entered into with some private concern here.⁵⁶ I told him that this had come as a surprise to all of us and even our Minister concerned did not know anything about it. When asked in Parliament he had to deny knowledge. This was embarrassing. The Ambassador said that his Trade Representative had entered into this agreement purely on a commercial basis. He, the Ambassador, himself had not known about it. This seems to me rather odd. It appears that the agreement was for 180 thousand tons of petroleum products.

He asked me what he was to do now. He hinted that he was prepared to cancel the agreement. I said that in this matter he should consult you. It was not possible for me to give any firm opinion without considering all aspects of this question. We were not opposed to Soviet oil coming here, but we did think that our Government should be consulted in such matters.

He said that he had met Khera⁵⁷ who had taken a “negative” attitude. By this he meant that Khera disapproved of this transaction and indeed disapproved of any such transactions with a private concern. In Khera’s opinion transactions

52. Note to PPS, 10 March 1960. File No. 17(205)/56-66-PMS.

53. To a group of MPs, see Appendix 24 for K. Ram’s note of 10 March.

54. Letter to the Union Minister of State for Mines and Oil.

55. Ivan Benediktov.

56. Hindustan Organisers (Private) Ltd, according to Malaviya in the Lok Sabha on 16 March. The press reported the agreement on 9 March 1960.

57. S.S. Khera, Secretary in the Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel, Government of India.

should be between Governments.

Anyhow, I have referred him to you and you can deal with this matter as you think best. As this involves rather a new departure, we might inform the Cabinet about it at the appropriate time.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

153. To P. Subbarayan: Second Shipyard for Cochin⁵⁸

March 17, 1960

My dear Subbarayan,

I have read through the statement you propose to make tomorrow in the Lok Sabha about the Cochin shipyard.⁵⁹ I have no comments to make about it.

Apart from the need for such a shipyard, which we want so much, other considerations are paramount. Having gone thus far and made the announcement on the subject, it is wholly out of the question to resile and go back from our statements. The temperature of Kerala has risen to fever point ever since this doubt was expressed in the Press.

I am returning your statement.

[Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru]

154. To Swaran Singh: Very Small Steel Plants⁶⁰

March 20, 1960

My dear Swaran Singh,

You will remember that there was a proposal to set up some very small steel plants, that is, producing 30,000, 40,000 or 50,000 tons of steel a year. The idea was to experiment with some such plants. How far has this matter gone?

Subramaniam and Venkataraman came to see me today after the N.D.C. meeting and they pressed me for something to be done to put up a small steel

58. Letter to the Union Minister for Transport and Communications. File No. 17(79)/56-66-PMS.

59. See also item 2.

60. Letter to the Union Minister of Steel, Mines and Fuel.

plant in the South. I told them what difficulties we have had to face even in our Planning Commission about Bokaro itself and a committee of Ministers was considering these various matters together with the Planning Commission. But, I added that if one of our experimental small steel plants could be put up there, perhaps this could be arranged, though I was not sure what exactly we could do about it.

I should like you to keep this in mind.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

(e) Labour

155. In the Rajya Sabha: D. K. Ramanujam's Arrest⁶¹

ARREST OF MR. D. K. RAMANUJAM IN PONDICHERRY

Shri Bhupesh Gupta:⁶² Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that Mr. D.K. Ramanujam, a member of Pondicherry State Assembly and the Secretary of the State Trade Union Council, was recently arrested;
- (b) whether the Chief Commissioner, Pondicherry, received any representation in this connection from the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. V. Subbiah in the State Assembly;
- (c) if so, what is the nature of the representation; and
- (d) what action Government have taken in the matter?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) Yes.

(b) and (c) The Chief Commissioner received a representation from Shri Subbiah who urged the Government to intercede with the local judiciary for the grant of bail to the accused and also suggested that a Special Tribunal should be constituted to try Shri Ramanujam, as the local judiciary was alleged to be partisan and prejudiced against him.

61. Oral answers to questions, 3 March 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVIII, cols 2584-2587.

62. CPI, Rajya Sabha MP from West Bengal.

(d) The Pondicherry Administration have already informed Shri Subbiah that this matter being sub-judice it was not possible for them to intervene. Furthermore the offences, with which Mr. Ramanujam was charged, were non-bailable.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: May I know whether it is a fact that this particular alleged offence, for which Mr. Ramanujam was arrested, related to a speech made by him on January 18 this year in which he criticised certain articles in a Pondicherry pro-French paper and whether this criticism was directed against the manner in which the Public Prosecutor was dealing with a particular murder case?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: It is not true, Sir. He attacked the local judiciary and particularly the Procurer. If you permit me, Sir, I will read out the words. It says that it was

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: You do kindly read it out. I would also like to check mine.

Mr. Chairman: Is it short or long?

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: The judiciary, when they like...

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: If you wish, I shall read it out, Sir. But why should an alleged matter be read out? The point is: How can the Chief Commissioner interfere in judicial matters? The question is whether he can interfere and give him bail. He told him, "Go to the court and ask for the bail." It cannot be proper for him to interfere. That is the only question, not what he said.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: May I know whether it is a fact that Mr. Subbiah, Leader of the Opposition in the Pondicherry Assembly, said in writing to the Chief Commissioner that he was prepared to state that Mr. Ramanujam did not make any libellous statement, that he was himself present at the meeting and that he demanded an enquiry into the whole matter?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Why should he not say it in the court? It is no good saying it to the Chief Commissioner. The simple question is, here is a matter in court. How can they—the executive authority—go and interfere?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: Mr. Ramanujam himself did not deny the fact that he had made such a statement.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: He would not do it, because that would be contempt of court. Anyway, may I know whether it is a fact that the laws that

operate in Pondicherry are not Indian laws and that according to the French laws, there is no real guidance as to whether the bail should be given or not? And in this particular case, the Prosecutor was the party and also the judge under the French legal system, and that came in the way.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, Sir, the French legal system prevails in Pondicherry. It has its consequences and the Prosecutor has certain judicial functions there also. In this particular case, as I said, the main thing is, the Chief Commissioner is not entitled to interfere. All I know is—I am informed—that the gentleman, Mr. Ramanujam, himself has not denied this fact before the Prosecutor. For a third party to go and deny on his behalf seems to be rather odd.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: I would like to know how the Prime Minister knows that Mr. Ramanujam has not denied it?

Mr. Chairman: That will do.

श्री नवाबसिंह चौहान:⁶³ मि. सुबैया का चीफ कमिशनर से यह कहना कि वे इंटरफेयर करें, क्या यह किलियर कन्टेम्प्ट ऑफ कोर्ट नहीं है? अगर है तो क्या इस तरीके का कोई मामला मि. सुबैया पर कन्टेम्प्ट ऑफ कोर्ट का चलाया गया है?

[Translation begins:

Shri Nawab Singh Chauhan:⁶⁴ Mr Subbiah's asking the Chief Commissioner to interfere, is it not clear contempt of court? And if it is, then has a case of contempt of court been filed against Mr Subbiah?

Translation ends]

(No reply)

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: I would like to know this. Prime Minister has been good enough to say that Mr. Ramanujam has not denied it. I am in possession of other papers. I have got them from Pondicherry. I would like to know how the Prime Minister has this information that Mr. Ramanujam has not denied it. The allegation has been made by the Public Prosecutor who is the prosecutor and the judge at the same time.

(No reply)

Mr. Chairman: Shri Bhupesh Gupta. Question No. 281.

63. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Uttar Pradesh.

64. See fn 63 in this section.

156. To Morarji Desai: State Bank Employees' Strike⁶⁵

March 5, 1960

My dear Morarji,

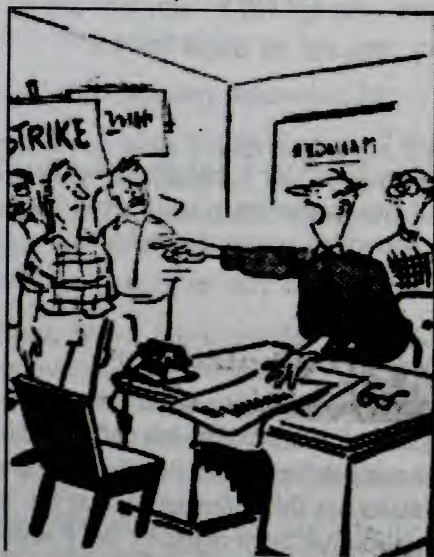
I had a talk with H.V.R. Iengar⁶⁶ today about the strike of the employees of the State Bank and its repercussions.⁶⁷ I learnt from him that there was some difference of opinion between you and Gulzarilal Nanda as to what we should do about this matter. As this is rather urgent, I suggest that this might be put up before the Cabinet as early as possible. We might even consider it day after tomorrow. I am writing to Nanda accordingly.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

[FREE TO STRIKE WITHOUT DEMANDS]

You Said It

By LAXMAN



Ok., you can go on strike on one condition—you must withdraw your demands at once.

(From The Times of India, 16 March 1960, p. 1)

65. Letter to the Union Minister of Finance.

66. Chairman, State Bank of India.

67. Began on 4 March 1960 and called off on 24 March after 21 days. For details on SBI employees' strike, see item 2 fn 28.

157. To Gulzarilal Nanda: Bring Strike Question to Cabinet⁶⁸

March 5, 1960

My dear Gulzarilal,

I see that a strike has already been started by the employees of the State Bank. Probably this will spread to the Reserve Bank and other banking institutions. Obviously we have to do something to meet the situation.

I understand that there is some difference of opinion between you and Morarjibhai on this subject. In case of such differences, the normal course is for the matter to be considered by the Cabinet. I suggest, therefore, that this might be put up before the Cabinet at a very early date. There is a meeting of the Cabinet day after tomorrow. Perhaps we can consider it then.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

158. To Manubhai M. Shah: Recognition for Good Performance⁶⁹

March 23, 1960

My dear Manubhai,

Your letter of March 23 with the papers attached.⁷⁰

I am agreeable to the scheme you have evolved after much labour for granting recognition and awards for good performance in our industrial undertakings in the public sector. You can go ahead with it.

There is another idea that has struck me. This is quite apart from the present scheme. In each factory or undertaking, we should give recognition to individual workers who have done well. How their work is to be estimated, I do not know, but it should be possible to do so. You must know that this kind of thing is done in many countries. In the Soviet Union they put up the names

68. Letter to the Union Minister of Labour and Employment.

69. Letter to Union Minister of State for Commerce and Industry. File No. 17(388)/60-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

70. See Appendix 54.

in all newspapers and even hang their pictures round about. I think this matter should be considered also.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(f) Education

159. To A.P. Jain: Rudrapur University⁷¹

17th March, 1960

My dear Ajit,

I have received your letter of the 15th March about the Rudrapur University scheme.⁷² I have looked through the papers you have sent me. I think that the approach in this scheme is a good one and is certainly worth trying. I am forwarding your letter to the Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

160. In the Lok Sabha: Secondary School Examinations⁷³

HIGHER SECONDARY STAGE EXAMINATION

Question:⁷⁴ Will the Minister of Education be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that a meeting of the Central Advisory Board was held on the 4th and 5th February, 1960 to consider the desirability of instituting two types of public examinations at the higher secondary stage, one with English as compulsory subject and another without it; and

71. Letter. Jain's letter forwarded to V. T. Krishnamachari, 17 March 1960.
72. The first of its kind in India, the UP Agricultural University, near Rudrapur in UP, set up in collaboration with the University of Illinois, was inaugurated on 17 November 1960 by Nehru. In 1972 it was renamed Govind Ballabh Pant University of Agriculture and Technology.
73. Oral answers to questions, 24 March 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XLI, cols 7782-7783 and 7788-7789.
74. By Congress MPs D.C. Sharma and N.R. Muniswamy.

(b) if so, the result thereof?

The Minister of Education (Dr. K.L. Shrimali):

- (a) Yes Sir. The last meeting of the Board was, however, held on the 6th & 7th February, 1960 and not on the 4th & 5th.
- (b) The proceedings of the Board have not yet been finalised. A copy of the proceedings containing the recommendations of the Board will be supplied to the library of the Lok Sabha as usual, in due course.

I may inform the hon. Member that the Board discussed this question and was in favour of maintaining the status quo in regard to the question raised by the hon. Member.

Shri D.C. Sharma: May I know how the recommendation of the Board conflicts with the decision of the Board. For instance, they wanted to have two types of examinations and the hon. Minister says that they decided to have the status quo. What is the difference between the status quo and the two types of examinations?

Dr. K.L. Shrimali: There are no two types of examinations at the present moment. English is compulsory for all those who appear for the High School and Higher Secondary examinations. The proposal was to have two types of examinations, one without English and one with English. The Board was in favour of the status quo; that is, it was not in favour of a change.

[Sundry interventions omitted]

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Sir, obviously this matter is not going to be decided in the Question Hour. But since an hon. Member has felt that a remark of the Education Minister might not have been correct when he said that it was a compulsory subject, may I, with all humility say, and with full knowledge, that English is a compulsory subject in Sweden...

Shri Rajendra Singh: Not in Norway.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: This is merely factual information. In Sweden it is a compulsory subject for every child, apart from Swedish and apart from any other foreign language which may not be compulsory.... (Interruptions) I am, not dealing with the wider questions. I am merely saying that it is a fact that it

is a compulsory language in some non-English-speaking countries; it is a well-known fact. I cannot give a list. Sweden, I know definitely because only the other day some Swedish Deputation came and told us about it. I know that in other countries, Scandinavian countries—whether it is absolutely compulsory or not, I do not know, but—it is next to it. It is encouraged in every school. In the Soviet Union, a foreign language is compulsory for everyone, but not necessarily English. In fact, English is given predominance among the foreign languages and therefore, a compulsory foreign language is essential. There is that tendency everywhere because of the various developments, etc. I am not entering into any argument. I am merely wishing to clear the position... (Interruptions)

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: The question was about the medium of instruction and not about compulsory study; there is much difference between the two... (Interruptions)

(g) Culture
(i) General

161. To Humayun Kabir: Accepting Dedication of New Edition of Al Biruni⁷⁵

March 2, 1960

My dear Humayun,

Your letter of the 2nd March about the edition of Al Biruni's book prepared by Dr. Nizamuddin. If he so wishes, he can dedicate the book to me.

But I must confess that his preface is much too ornate and flowery for my liking, particularly his references to some individuals. I wish these were toned down. In particular, I think his references to me and to you should be toned down. A scholar should speak in restrained language.⁷⁶

Yours sincerely,
J. Nehru

75. Letter to Union Minister of State for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs. Humayun Kabir Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

76. Kabir replied on 3 March: "It is very kind of you to accede to Dr. Nizamuddin's request. I had also written to Dr. Nizamuddin to tone down his preface a little, and particularly his references to me. I am not conveying your suggestion to him."

162. To Humayun Kabir: Inaugurating the Jallianwala Bagh Memorial⁷⁷

March 5, 1960

My dear Humayun,

Your letter of the 5th February about Jallianwala Bagh Memorial.⁷⁸ The date for the formal opening of the Memorial should be fixed, I think, after my return from England. In fact, we should be certain that everything that is to be done has been completed.

August 15th is a day when normally I cannot leave Delhi.⁷⁹

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

163. To N.R. Pillai: Subscribing to Periodicals⁸⁰

I have looked through this list. I quite agree that papers like the *Hindu Weekly*⁸¹ and the *Overseas Hindustan Times*⁸² should be subscribed to, but nevertheless I do not understand these large numbers. Do we sell them abroad or do we distribute them free even to private individuals? Why should we distribute them free, especially to private individuals? The *Shankar's Weekly*,⁸³ which is certainly good in its own way, may also be subscribed to, but not for free distribution.

77. Letter. Humayun Kabir Papers, NMML.

78. See Appendix 1.

79. Kabir replied on 11 March saying that the formal opening of the Jallianwala Bagh Memorial might be after Nehru's return from England "but I hope you will kindly fix the date before you leave" and suggested afternoon of 15 August. To this Nehru responded on 12 March that the date could be decided "in May or even later. August will still be a long way off." Kabir, however, insisted on 14 March that "once you have fixed the date, we can be sure that the Architect and the contractors, will finish the work in time.... Would you kindly see if you can fix a date for this before you leave for London."

80. Note to SG, 6 March 1960.

81. The *Hindu Weekly Review*, edited by S. Parthasarathi and published by Kasturi and Sons Ltd., Madras.

82. English weekly, edited by S. Mulgaokar and published by the Hindustan Times Ltd., New Delhi.

83. Edited by K. Shankar Pillai and published by R.P. Nayar from Delhi.

2. Again there is *Thought*⁸⁴ which is a very feeble kind of paper run with foreign help. There is nothing of real interest in it. A few copies might be taken.

3. *Marg*⁸⁵ is good, but what do we do with it, apart from our Missions or libraries abroad?

4. Individuals abroad, if they are interested, should subscribe directly to such papers as they like. We can help them to do so if necessary. There may be some exceptions. But generally this idea of free distribution to individuals is not good.

164. To Morarji Desai: Proposed Tax on Raw Film⁸⁶

9th March, 1960

My dear Morarji,

Satyajit Ray came to see me today. I suppose you know Satyajit. He is a producer of Bengali films of very high quality. They are not popular films in the ordinary sense, but they have won world awards in France, America, etc. and he has been spoken of as one of the really talented producers of good films and successful ones.

When he came to me, I congratulated him on his triumphs. As a matter of fact, we have given him some of our Republic Day awards also, as well as the film award. He said that the proposed new tax on raw films was going to put an end completely to private educational and documentary films and in fact to regional films, Bengali, Marathi, etc. The Hindi films have a much wider field and may perhaps survive, though they will also be hit. In other words, the artistic and documentary films would be the first to go down and only the cruder films could survive because of their wider public appeal. He gave me some figures of the amounts of raw films purchased and numerous copies they have to make. They did this from advances from distributors, but the additional tax would be quite beyond their capacity to bear. I shall not go into these figures which he mentioned to me as, I believe, they have been put down in some representation which has been sent to the Finance Ministry. But it would be unfortunate if the slow progress we are making in the quality of our films was hit by any action we took and only the bad films survived. I think this does require looking into rather carefully.

84. English weekly, edited by Ram Singh and published by Sidhartha Publications (Pvt.) Ltd., from Delhi.

85. English quarterly, edited by Mulk Raj Anand and published by Tata Sons Pvt. Ltd.

86. Letter.

Satyajit Ray also told me that the estimate given in our budget of 75 lakhs from this source of revenue was a very low one from the point of view of present production. Of course, when production goes down because of the taxes that is another matter. He thought that the estimate on present productions could well have been 2 ½ crores. I wonder if we could look upon it from the point of view of some system applied i.e. those who only make a few films might be excused and as they make more films, the rate might go up. I am told that the big popular producers have to make as many as 100 copies. The smaller ones may go upto 5 to 15.

Also, we might consider the special concessions to educational films, documentaries, etc.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

[ACTING IS BEING]

You Said It

By LAXMAN



Act, lady, act—you are struck by sorrow, you are lonely, deserted and ruined. Think of the new levy on exposed films, that might help you.

(From *The Times of India*, 17 March 1960, p. 1)

165. To Mohanlal Sukhadia: Defacing Jaipur through Modernisation⁸⁷

March 9, 1960

My dear Sukhadia,

I have had news of tragic happenings in Jaipur and I am deeply shocked. Jaipur, as you know, is a unique city because of its planning and architecture. People from all over the world go there. Now I am told that all its uniqueness is gradually being destroyed and the people who are doing it imagine that they are beautifying and modernising Jaipur. If the old city of Jaipur is changed much by this process, then it will be a crime of the first magnitude. I am told that the old city walls are being broken down, so also the gates of the city. The two persons responsible are the Chairman of the Urban Improvement Board and the Chairman of the Municipality.

It is no wish of mine to interfere with your Municipal autonomy, but I cannot help writing to you when this sacrilege is being committed, all in the name of modernising or beautifying. I gather that the walls round about the gate leading to Amber have been knocked apparently because, it is said that the traffic demands this. I cannot understand this. Also that all kinds of so-called modern buildings are being put up which do not fit in at all with the Jaipur architecture.

Surely if something is to be done to Jaipur in regard to buildings, competent architects and planners should be consulted before messing about a thing of beauty. Please do something about all this and at least stop the destruction, as also the erection of new buildings in a completely different style. If you like, we shall send down some architects and planners from here to have a look and advise.

When I heard of all this, I felt like coming down to Jaipur myself to have a look. But I am far too busy at present to do so.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

87. Letter to the Chief Minister of Rajasthan.

166. To G. Ramachandran: Publishing Gandhi's Biography⁸⁸

12th March, 1960

My dear Ramachandran,

At last I met Pyarelal⁸⁹ this morning and discussed the work he was doing, how far it had progressed and how long it would take. The principal point in issue is, I understand, the time to be taken for the completion of each volume of this book about Gandhiji.⁹⁰ So far as I can remember, the suggestion made by the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi to him was that the first volume should be ready by the end of the third year counting from 1st January 1959. This means by the end of 1961. The second and third volumes were to be ready by the end of the fifth year, i.e. by the end of 1963.

I told Pyarelal that while on the one hand in a matter of this kind there could not be any absolute rigidity and the approach had to be flexible, on the other hand a public trust like the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi could not leave matters vague and undetermined. Also that it was to his interest as well as that of the Nidhi to finish this work as soon as possible, provided of course that in hustling through it the work did not suffer. To fix precise dates might be unrealistic, not to fix any date would be bad. We have, therefore, to adopt some course which indicates as definitely as possible certain dates of the different volumes being ready and at the same time leaves a certain flexibility.

Pyarelal said that he expected the first volume to be ready by the end of 1961, i.e. the date suggested on behalf of the Nidhi. So, there can be no dispute about it.

The difference of opinion comes in regard to the dates for the second and the third volumes. Pyarelal wanted another five years after the first volume had been prepared, while the Nidhi had suggested two years. This is a major difference of time. I am inclined to think that this cannot be usefully resolved at present and so far ahead of the actual contingency arising. There are a number of uncertain factors which are not capable of calculation. Thus, it may well be necessary for Pyarelal to visit South Africa and see records and papers

88. Letter to the Secretary, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, Rajghat, New Delhi. File No. 2 (265)/58-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

89. Private Secretary to Mahatma Gandhi.

90. Pyarelal was now working on a ten-volume biography of Gandhiji, which was published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

there. Or, he may have to go to London for this purpose. All this takes time and people seldom cooperate in supplying the necessary papers.

I would suggest, therefore, that when the first volume is ready, the matter should be discussed afresh between the Nidhi and Pyarelal about the timing of the second volume. I would be prepared to give him two years for the second volume, i.e. to the end of 1963. But that is an approximation. When the second volume is ready, it will be easier to know what more work remains to be done and how much time this would take. The matter might be discussed round about that time. I would imagine that the third volume should take about a year to a year and a half more, but that is just guess work at the present moment.

Thus, broadly, the first volume has to be ready by the end of 1961. After it is ready, it will naturally be sent to the press without waiting for the other volumes. Provisionally, we might think of the second volume being ready by the end of 1963, but this matter has to be considered when the first volume is ready. Anyhow, it is hoped that the second volume will not go beyond 1963. Later, we may consider the third volume.

It is agreed, of course, that the material which Pyarelal gathers for this work will be handed over to the Nidhi when he has finished with it, and all rights will rest with the Nidhi. Such part of the material as he requires for the work, will naturally remain with him till he has finished with it.

There was another matter that Pyarelal mentioned to me. He said that sometimes he might require more staff and sometimes less. He should be given some freedom to deal with this matter as needed. His calculations were spread out over a period. Within these figures suggested this freedom might be given to him.

He also mentioned to me the possibility of his having to go to South Africa and how far it would be possible to help him towards the expenses of the journey. He did not want all the expenses to be covered by the Nidhi, but he did suggest that a part of them might be so covered, as otherwise it would be difficult for him to go there. I am inclined to think that it would be desirable for him to go to South Africa somewhat later and examine all the books, papers and records on the spot. If he does so, some help might be given to him as part payment of the expenses involved.

I suggest that you might consult the President of the Nidhi, Shri R.R. Diwakar, and then inform Pyarelal of your decisions. Those decisions need not at this stage refer to a possible visit to South Africa. That can be considered later when this question is raised.

I would further suggest to you not to have formal stamped agreement and the like. That is not necessary. But what is necessary is an exchange of letters confirming an understanding arrived at.

I am enclosing a copy of this letter to facilitate your sending it to Shri Diwakar.

I told Pyarelal that I might be writing to him, but I now feel that it would be better for you to inform him of your decisions. I am, therefore, not writing to him.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

167. In the Lok Sabha: Destroying and Preserving Government Records⁹¹

Records in Central Government Offices

Question:⁹² Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that Government have issued orders to all its departments that records marked for 10 years are to be destroyed without reference to the National Archives;
- (b) if so, whether this order applies to specified records or all records; and
- (c) whether records which are of border-line period are also to be destroyed or whether there are some other instructions for such cases?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):
(a) to (c). The orders referred to provide that it is not necessary to consult the National Archives before files initially marked for record for a period of up to ten years are weeded out in accordance with the instructions given in the Manual of Office Procedure. Those instructions make it clear that files containing papers, which are important or are likely to become important in future, however indirectly, as sources of information on any aspect of history, whether political or military or social or economic, etc., or which are, or may in future prove to be, of biographical or antiquarian interest, should not be destroyed.

91. Written answers to questions, 14 March 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XL, col. 5669.

92. By Congress MPs Radha Raman and A. M. Tariq.

168. To Humayun Kabir: Indian Museum Exhibits Abroad⁹³

17th March, 1960

My dear Humayun,

I do not know if you have seen the latest correspondence we have had with the Indian Museum authorities in Calcutta about the Indian Art Exhibition which is in Europe now. The Indian Museum people are very angry with us for holding on to their exhibits.⁹⁴ They insist on these being returned immediately. I do not think we should overrule them. At the same time, it seems very difficult and embarrassing to send these exhibits back just before the exhibition is opened in Paris. I am trying to get some facts and thereafter I shall write to the Chairman of the Indian Museum Committee requesting him that these exhibits might be allowed for Paris and no more. The Paris exhibition is understood to open about the 4th or 5th April and it is hardly possible to separate them and send them back before that date.

It must be understood, however, that these exhibits will not be sent anywhere else after Paris.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

169. To Humayun Kabir: Indian Museum Exhibits Abroad⁹⁵

March 18, 1960

My dear Humayun,

I have your letter of March 18 about the art objects lent by the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Whatever may have been said by other museums, it is clear, from your own letter, that the Indian Museum authorities had insisted on the return of their exhibits after Essen and Zurich.⁹⁶ This insistence has grown. We could

93. Letter.

94. See also items 169 and 170.

95. Letter. File No. 40(170)/59-62-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

96. For Nehru's message on organising the exhibition, see SWJN/SS/46/item 223.

argue with them or appeal to them, but ultimately we have to abide by their wishes in this matter.

Although some kind of a commitment might have been made to Vienna and Rome, that is not an adequate reason for us to act contrary to the expressed wishes of the Indian Museum. It may be that these wishes are of the Chairman. But that does not make very much difference.

To some extent, I can understand the desire of our Museum not to take undue risks with valuable objects. Indeed some type of objects is hardly ever sent out of a museum.

So far as Paris is concerned, even for practical reasons, it has become exceedingly difficult to stop that exhibition or to vary it to any great extent. Therefore, I feel that we have to go ahead with Paris. But this reason does not apply to Rome or Vienna. If necessary, we shall have to give up the Rome and Vienna Exhibitions or tell them that they can have all the objects except some from the Indian Museum which have to come back.

There was some talk of the Exhibition going to the United States. That idea must, of course, now be given up.

I do not yet know where all these objects are at present. Are they being exhibited somewhere or are they in transit? Could you please let me have information on this point? How far have arrangements in Paris gone for the museum? I suppose that if the exhibits are in transit, it will be hardly possible to separate the Indian Museum exhibits from the others. After hearing from you, I shall write⁹⁷ to Ranu Mookerjee.⁹⁸

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

170. To Ranu Mookerjee: Indian Museum Exhibits Abroad⁹⁹

March 20, 1960

My dear Ranu,

My Principal Private Secretary has shown me your telegram and letter of the 10th March 1960 about the exhibits that were sent from the Indian Museum to

97. See the next item.

98. (1907-2000); Chairman, Board of Trustees, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

99. Letter. File No. 40(170)/59-62-PMS. Also available in File No. 7(33)-Eur(w)/59, MEA. Copied to Humayun Kabir, SG and FS.

the Indian Art Exhibition that was held at Essen in Germany. As I had not been in touch with recent developments in this matter, I have tried to get at all the facts.

I am exceedingly sorry that there was some misunderstanding at our end and that the wishes you had conveyed were not carried out. The fault is largely on our side, and I apologise for it. I was not aware previously that you were anxious to have the Indian Museum exhibits back after Essen.

The original exhibition at Essen was organised with our consent and indeed with our help. I was approached not only by Krupps but by the German Government on this subject, and I had agreed. I understand that the exhibition was very well organised and was a great success.

About that time we received many requests for this exhibition to be displayed at other important centres such as Zurich, Paris, Vienna and Rome. There was also some talk of its going to the United States later on. I was rather doubtful about all these valuable exhibits being sent to the United States, but I expressed my agreement to the exhibition going to the other places mentioned. More particularly, I agreed to the exhibition being held in Paris. A Minister of the French Government, M. Malraux, had specially asked us for it and I told him that we would welcome this.

After this, I lost sight of this matter and, as I have said above, I did not know that there was any objection on your part for the Indian Museum exhibits to be taken to places other than Essen. From Essen the exhibition went to Zurich, and the exhibits have now either reached Paris or are on the point of reaching there. The date for the Paris exhibition has been fixed for the 4th of April. It will, no doubt, take some days to unpack and arrange the exhibition.

This is the present position. It has become very difficult at this stage to break up the Paris exhibition as everything has been fixed up there and the French Government has taken special interest in it. Our word was given to that Government and it will be exceedingly difficult and embarrassing for us to break that word at this stage.

I can well understand your anxiety to prevent any injury to or loss of the exhibits which are very valuable and your desire to have them back as soon as possible. But as they are probably already in Paris and are being unpacked there, it will not at all be an easy matter to separate and re-pack some of them at this stage and send them back to India. Most of the museums in India have agreed to their exhibits being displayed in various places, and hence the misunderstanding arose. I would, therefore, request you and your other trustees of the Indian Museum to agree to your exhibits being displayed at this Paris exhibition early next month. There is hardly any other way out now. If you so desire, your exhibits will be returned to you after the Paris exhibition and will

not be sent anywhere else, even though Vienna and Rome had been included in their itinerary.

My apologies again for this muddle.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

171. To N.R. Pillai and S. Dutt: Indian Museum Exhibits Abroad¹⁰⁰

I am writing to you about the Indian Art Exhibition which was held first at Essen¹⁰¹ and then at Zurich. Now, I believe, it is on the way to Paris.

2. There has been some trouble about this matter as the Trustees of the Indian Museum of Calcutta are rather angry with us for sending their exhibits to places other than Essen. They have asked for them back immediately.

3. Evidently there was some misunderstanding about this matter. If they insist on their exhibits being returned to them, we shall have to do so. It is hardly possible now to send them before the Paris Exhibition which begins early next month. But the question of Rome, Vienna or any other place will have to be considered again.

4. I understand that our Ministry is considering the question of the Exhibition going to the United States after Rome. In view of the difficulties that have arisen, no further commitment should be made.

172. To Morarji Desai: India Office Records¹⁰²

22nd March, 1960

My dear Morarji,

This is just a matter I wish to mention to you so that you might have it in a corner of your mind, when you go to Karachi and Rawalpindi. I do not want you to raise this matter yourself.

100. Note to SG and FS, 20 March 1960. File No. 7(33)-Eur (w)/59, MEA.

101. At Villa Hugel.

102. Letter.

You know that the question of the India Office Library in London has been with us ever since independence. The attitude of the UK Government has been very unsatisfactory. For some years they took advantage of the disagreement on this issue between India and Pakistan. Now there has been a broad agreement between India and Pakistan on the basis that the library may continue for some years in London, but the ownership of it should be transferred to India and Pakistan. Any further details to be considered later. If India and Pakistan jointly put forward this proposal, it will not be easy for the UK Government to say no to it. Still, I doubt if the UK Government will be amenable to reason.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

173. To C.K. Bhattacharyya: Chanakya Statue¹⁰³

22nd March, 1960

My dear Shri Bhattacharyya,
Your letter of the 21st March that a statue of Chanakya be put up facing Gate No. 1 of Parliament House. I am rather against putting up statues to order. There are very few statues in India which can be said to have high merit. The boy figure of Chandragupta is rather a lovely piece made by a foreign woman sculptor and donated to us. If somebody produces a really suitable statue of Chanakya, we might consider this matter. But I should not like to ask anyone to do it because that may prove to be highly unsatisfactory.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

103. Letter to Bhattacharyya, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from West Dinajpur, West Bengal.

174. To B.V. Keskar: A Jewish Announcer with Nasser Present¹⁰⁴

23rd March, 1960

My dear Balkrishna,

I enclose a letter from David Abraham¹⁰⁵ which will speak for itself.

I do not myself see any particular objection to Abraham being the Announcer at this Filmfare show on the 8th April. The fact that he happens to be a Jew is not going to be announced by him or by anyone else. He merely states what the programme is. If by any chance it is known to President Nasser that he is a Jew, even that should not matter very much because he is not coming from Israel but is from an old-established community in India¹⁰⁶ and that can easily be explained to President Nasser if he enquires.¹⁰⁷ It would be better, of course, not to say anything about his being a Jew. Any little incident is caught hold of in Bombay by the press. If Abraham does not perform his usual functions, this might be played up in the press and actually would draw the attention than otherwise. I suggest, therefore, that you might explain the position to the people concerned and say that Abraham might be allowed to play his usual role.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

104. Letter to Union Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting.

105. David Abraham Cheulkar, popularly known as David (1909-1981): a Jewish-Indian film actor from Bombay's Marathi-speaking Bene Israel community; also associated with IPTA; host of prominent award shows and other functions between 1959-75.

106. See Benjamin J. Israel, *The Jews of India* (New Delhi, Centre for Jewish and Inter-Faith Studies, Jewish Welfare Association, 1982).

107. Nasser attended the Filmfare awards function on 8 April in Bombay and David Abraham hosted the show, according to the press reports.

(ii) Visva-Bharati University

175. To Humayun Kabir: Overlapping Remits¹⁰⁸

March 13, 1960

My dear Humayun,

I have received a letter from Shrimali. You may remember that I wrote to you and to him on the question of Rabindra Sadan and at that time I mentioned that there appeared to be some overlapping in the functions of the two Ministries.¹⁰⁹ The letter that Shrimali has written is in answer to that. I suppose there is a lack of logic in these divisions of subjects which are closely interrelated. Still, in the present context, I do not wish to go about making changes in the existing arrangements. We have to face many kinds of problems and I have no desire to add to them.

But every effort should be made to develop the closest coordination and consultation between the two Ministries. This of course was stressed by me when the two Ministries were constituted. Every subject in which the other Ministry is interested should be one for consultation.

I am sending you Shrimali's letter together with a note which his Ministry has put up, for your information.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

176. To K.C. Chaudhuri: Resignation Accepted¹¹⁰

March 14, 1960

Dear Shri Chaudhuri,¹¹¹

I have received your letter of the 10th March 1960 informing me of your resignation from the office of Treasurer, Visva-Bharati. I am sorry you have decided to resign from this office. In view of your wish to do so, however, I am accepting your resignation and I am asking the Vice-Chancellor to take the necessary steps to relieve you as soon as it is feasible.

108. Letter.

109. On 23 December 1959. See SWJN/SS/55/item 124.

110. Letter. File No. 40(9)/60-65-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

111. Acting Vice-Chancellor of Visva-Bharati, 1958-59, and Treasurer.

May I thank you for all the help and cooperation which you have been good enough to extend to me as Chancellor and your services to Visva-Bharati?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

177. To S.R. Das: K. C. Chaudhuri's Resignation¹¹²

March 14, 1960

My dear Vice-Chancellor,

I have received your letter of March 11th sending me a letter of resignation addressed to me by the Artha Sachiva, Shri K.C. Chaudhuri. I am accepting his resignation and have informed him accordingly. I enclose a copy of my letter to him. You will please yourself fix the date for his handing over charge. I entirely agree with you that Shri Dhiren Mitra should be requested to accept the office of Artha Sachiva until a permanent arrangement can be made.

I am returning the letter of resignation of Shri K.C. Chaudhuri for your files.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

178. To S.R. Das: Investing Funds¹¹³

March 15, 1960

My dear Vice-Chancellor,

I am glad to learn that the construction of Rabindra Sadan (Vichitra) has been taken in hand. I shall gladly send you Rs. 25,000/- from the Chancellor's Rabindranath Tagore Jayanti Fund. This money should be earmarked and used for meeting the cost of the preservation of Dehali and the construction of Rabindra Sadan (Vichitra).

I find that we have recently put a sum of Rs.1, 25,000/- belonging to the Fund in Short Deposit for a period of three months. I had this done so that the

112. Letter. File No. 40(9)/60-65-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

113. Letter.

money might earn some interest. At the present moment, the balance in the Current Account of this Fund is Rs. 14, 580-80. I am, for the present, therefore, sending you a cheque for Rs. 14,000/-. The balance will be sent to you when the Short Deposit matures early in June. If, however, you are in urgent need of this balance, I shall try to send it to you from some other Fund for the time being.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

179. To S.R. Das: Chinese Professors¹¹⁴

March 22, 1960

My dear Vice-Chancellor,
Professor Tan Yun-Shan¹¹⁵ came to see me today and spoke to me about Cheena Bhavan. More specially, he repeated his proposal to invite two Chinese Professors of note, both of whom have been previously at Santiniketan.

When this proposal had come to me on an earlier occasion, it had been suggested that the Government of India should approach the Chinese Government to let us have these two Professors, apparently at the cost of the Chinese Government. I did not agree to this, and pointed out that we could not make any request to the Chinese Government of the kind suggested in existing circumstances.

I have now told Professor Tan Yun-Shan that I would have no objection to Visva-Bharati directly inviting these two professors on our normal terms. If the Chinese Government is later prepared to pay their expenses, I would have no objection, but I am not willing to make any request to the Chinese Government.

I think that you should try to get these two professors in the normal way. Cheena Bhavan is an important department of Visva-Bharati, and Gurudev Tagore took very special interest in it. If we are to carry it on, this should be done in a proper way, and we should not allow it to languish. I suppose we cannot expect any financial help from the University Grants Commission. Even so, I

114. Letter. File No. 40(9)/60-65-66-PMS. Also available in File No. 10(31)-EA/59, MEA and JN Collection.

115. Taught Chinese language and culture at Visva-Bharati, founder-director, Cheena Bhavan, Visva-Bharati, 1934-67.

suggest we should get them and try to make some other financial arrangements for them. I hope you agree.

In some other way too, Cheena Bhavan requires to be pulled up, and helped. I find that a former research scholar of the Government of India who had been sent to Peking University by us for 3 ½ years, Shri Narayan Chandra Sen, is now serving Cheena Bhavan on a salary of Rs. 150/-per month without any allowance. This salary seems to me totally inadequate and not at all fair. It should be increased.

Professor Tan Yun-Shan spoke to me also about additional buildings, library, etc. No doubt, these are desirable, and we should give thought to this matter. Perhaps if we get enough money from the Centenary Fund, we can give shape to these proposals.

It might be possible for the External Affairs Ministry to give some help for the teaching of Chinese at Visva- Bharati. I shall enquire into this matter.¹¹⁶

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

180. To Humayun Kabir: Preserving Tagore's House¹¹⁷

March 22, 1960

My dear Humayun,

I am sending you a note written by Shri K.R. Kripalani, Secretary, Sahitya Akademi. This deals with a building in Ahmedabad and the Tagore family house at Jorasanko, Calcutta.¹¹⁸

I do not quite know what we can do about the Ahmedabad building. I am, however, writing to Dr. Jivraj Mehta¹¹⁹ on this subject.

As for the Tagore family house at Jorasanko, Dr. B.C. Roy has already got a big scheme and I rather doubt if he will agree to vary it considerably. However, I am drawing his attention to this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

116. Note on same points sent to S. Dutt on 22 March 1960.

117. File No. 40(196)/60-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

118. See Appendix 45 for Kripalani's note of 21 March.

119. Minister of Finance, Government of Bombay, and Chief Minister of Gujarat from 1 May 1960.

181. To K.L. Shrimali: Patha-Bhavan and Visva-Bharati¹²⁰

March 22, 1960

My dear Shrimali,

I do not know if you are aware of a certain issue that has arisen in Visva-Bharati University. Ever since Visva-Bharati was started, Patha-Bhavan has been a part of it. This is more or less the School Department of the University. It has always been considered an integral part of Visva-Bharati and indeed I think it is an important and necessary part.¹²¹

The University Grants Commission felt, however, that this was not a part of the University proper. It could not come within the scope of its assistance. Any money that they gave must go to the University only. There was some correspondence between the Vice-Chancellor, Shri S. R. Das, and the Chairman of the University Grants Commission, Dr. C. D. Deshmukh, on the subject. But this did not lead to an understanding of the position or any agreement and Dr. Deshmukh has now made it clear that the Patha-Bhavan cannot be financed by his Commission.¹²²

It is, it appears, open to the University Grants Commission to give a grant or not to give it. But the points apparently raised by the University Grants Commission involve legal interpretations of statutes and our Constitution. In such a matter I should have imagined that an ex-Chief Justice of India is a higher authority than the University Grants Commission and it does seem rather odd to me that the former's views in regard to legal interpretation should be over-ruled by the Commission.

It is obvious that the Patha-Bhavan can neither be wound up nor separated from the University. It is too intimate a part of the whole conception of Gurudeva Rabindranath Tagore for any of us who are associated with Visva-Bharati to go against his decision. As Chancellor of the University, I cannot agree to any such breakup. I will not presume to interpret the law, but on the merits it seems to me that the Patha-Bhavan should continue as a part of Visva-Bharati.

The question, therefore, is that as the University Grants Commission is not prepared to give anything on account of Patha-Bhavan, what other ways we have of giving this financial assistance for Patha-Bhavan. I see that Dr. Deshmukh himself has rather casually mentioned that the Ministry of Education could help in this matter.

120. Letter. File No. 40(9)/60-65-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

121. See also SWJN/SS/56/item 84.

122. See Appendices 2(a) and 2(b).

I should like to know what the possibilities are in regard to the Ministry of Education doing so.

As legal issues have been raised, the normal practice for Government is to take the advice of our legal advisers, that is, the Law Ministry or the Attorney General. This is necessary not only for the present but for the future also, lest a wrong decision should govern future activities. I suggest you might prepare a note on the subject and send it to the Law Ministry.

I enclose a copy of a letter Shri S. R. Das, Vice-Chancellor of Visva-Bharati, has sent me on this subject.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

182. To S.R. Das: Funding Patha-Bhavan¹²³

March 22, 1960

My dear Shri Das,

Thank you for your letter of March 18th¹²⁴ and the other papers attached with it. These deal with the question of Patha-Bhavan.

I am quite clear in my mind that the Patha-Bhavan must continue to be an integrated part of Visva-Bharati. There can be no question of closing it or of separating it. As, however, the University Grants Commission refuses to help in this matter, there are only two courses open; the Ministry of Education might give a grant or we could find other sources.

I have written a letter to our Minister of Education, Dr. Shrimali. Copy attached.

For the present there should be no difficulty about money for the Patha-Bhavan because we are going to get, I hope, fairly adequate sums from the Centenary Fund. It is open to us ear-mark them for the Patha-Bhavan.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

123. Letter to the Vice-Chancellor, Visva-Bharati University, Santiniketan. File No. 40(9)/60-65-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

124. See Appendix 39.

(h) Health

183. To M.C. Chagla: Pincus's Oral Contraceptives¹²⁵

March 3, 1960

My dear Chagla,

Thank you for your letter of February 23¹²⁶ about the oral contraceptives of Dr. Pincus.¹²⁷ I have been in touch with our Health Ministry and our Family Planning section.¹²⁸ I am asking my Principal Private Secretary to write to you and let you know what the position is here.

Yours sincerely,
J. Nehru

184. To K. Ram: Testing and Costing Oral Contraceptive Pills¹²⁹

I have written a brief note to our Ambassador in Washington. Please follow this up with a fuller letter.

2. What Dr. Pincus has stated to Ambassador Chagla is obviously different from what Dr. Maung Sein told you. We must accept Dr. Pincus's facts. For instance, the price is 12 cents for pills which will last a month. Previously we had been told that each pill will cost about 20 cents or so. Also Pincus says that this can be manufactures [manufactured] in India fairly easily.

3. Whatever our ultimate decision might be about manufacture or import, I really do not understand why we should be afraid of these pills being used in India for experimental purposes, when they have actually been used in other places, apparently with success.

125. Letter to Ambassador to the USA. File No. 28(68)/60-71-PMS.

126. See Appendix 4.

127. G. G. Pincus, American biologist, invented an oral contraceptive pill.

128. See SWJN/SS/50/items 142-144 and Appendices 4 and 35; SWJN/SS/51/item 155.

129. Note to the PPS, 3 March 1960.

185. To K.P.S. Menon: Soviet Help on Smallpox and Cholera¹³⁰

17th March, 1960

My dear K.P.S.,

You will remember the offer made by Mr. Khrushchev to assist us in various ways in our campaign for the eradication of small-pox and cholera. I sent him an interim reply in January last.¹³¹ Now, after our committees have reported, I am sending a more definite reply. I am enclosing this and you might have this delivered to Mr. Khrushchev after your return to Moscow. I enclose a copy for you.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

186. To D.P. Karmarkar: Treatment for Deafness¹³²

March 22, 1960

My dear Karmarkar,

Rajendra Singh, one of our MPs, came to see me today and gave me the attached letters. I understand that he has approached you with the suggestion that Dr. Scheer¹³³ might be invited to India, but you ultimately expressed your inability to arrange this.

From such accounts as I have received, Dr. Scheer's new treatment for deafness is simple and has met with great success. I think it would be worthwhile investigating his coming to India. I gather that he will not charge much for it. His visit might be a great boon to sufferers here. Apart from such operations as he might perform in special centres like Delhi, Bombay and Calcutta, his technique might be learnt by our doctors. You might give thought to this matter.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

130. Letter to the Indian Ambassador to the USSR.

131. See SWJN/SS/46/items 232 and 235.

132. Letter to the Union Minister of State for Health.

133. Dr Alan Austin Scheer (1923-2010); Assistant Clinical Professor of Otorhinolaryngology, NYU School of Medicine, 1949-1961.

(i) Science and Technology

187. In the Lok Sabha: Radiation Hazards¹³⁴

Shri Padam Dev:¹³⁵ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government propose to bring forward any legislation in accordance with Resolution No. 2 regarding adequate safeguards against hazards to public health as a result of increasing use of radiology and ionizing radiation passed at the Seventh Meeting of the Central Council of Health held in Shillong in January, 1959;
- (b) if so, when; and
- (c) if not, the reasons therefor?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):

(a) The Department of Atomic Energy are drafting a bill for the revision of the Atomic Energy Act of 1948, which will inter alia provide adequate safeguards against radiation hazards.

- (b) In the course of the year.
- (c) Does not arise.

188. To R. Venkataraman: Postpone Visit of East German Experts¹³⁶

March 11, 1960

My dear Venkataraman,

You will remember speaking to me as well as writing to me about your visit to East Germany and your invitation to some experts from there to come here to advise you on the feasibility of making iron from Salem ores. I now understand that you have actually invited the East German Government to send some experts and they are ready to come immediately. Visas have been asked for.

134. Written answers to questions, 1 March 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXIX, cols 3393-3394.

135. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Chamba, Himachal Pradesh.

136. Letter to the Minister of Industries, Madras.

If you want them to come immediately, we shall certainly issue them visas and they can come. But it would perhaps be better if they come at a later period. As you perhaps know, the Department of Iron & Steel has set up a committee to look into this very matter and the Industries Secretary of the Madras Government is a member of this committee. This committee will collect some preliminary data. It is also apparently necessary for an adequate quantity of lignite to be made available. I am told that this quantity of lignite is not likely to be available for many months. If the East German experts come here now, they will not be able to do much without this material. All that they can say is that a scheme of the kind proposed would be feasible. That conclusion we have already reached on the report of the technical delegation from India which visited East Germany in 1956.

There is thus the risk of the East German experts coming here before we are really ready to receive them. They might misunderstand the situation, and their visit may not prove as fruitful as it otherwise would be.

Therefore, I should like you to consider the postponement of this visit of the experts. Your invitation to them would, of course, stand, and they should be told why you are postponing it.

In such matters of inviting foreign experts for technical assistance, it is better to inform the Central Government and the Planning Commission previously in order to bring about the necessary coordination.

I have put forward certain reasons which appear to be cogent. But I leave the decision to you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

189. To Humayun Kabir: Modak's Retirement Overdue¹³⁷

I am in favour of scientists and technicians serving beyond their normal age of retirement, if they keep fit. At the same time, Shri Modak is long past this age and is 70 now. I am glad to know that he is physically fit and in good condition. Nevertheless, 70 is a fairly advanced age for public service and is ten years beyond the normal age of retirement. In view, however, of his service being considered very necessary, he may be given an extension. But I think this should not be for more than one year.

137. Note to the Vice-President, CSIR, 11 March 1960.

190. To Mulraj Kersondas: Cow Dung for Gas Plants¹³⁸

March 17, 1960

My dear Mulraj,

Thank you for your letter the 15th March 1960.¹³⁹

We are fully aware of the gas plant in which cow dung is used. In fact, such demonstration plants have been put up repeatedly in our exhibitions here and elsewhere. Our Defence Ministry has made them also. Only recently we decided that a number of such gas plants should be put up. So, in effect, your suggestion has been adopted.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

191. To the Aeronautical Society of India: From Bullock Cart to Aviation¹⁴⁰

Mr President,¹⁴¹ friends,

I am glad to be here, if by my presence here, this Aeronautical Society derives any kind of help as I should like to help it. The President was just telling us of the small beginnings of the Society and how it is now growing and hopes to grow more and do good work. That is good. I hope that, in doing so, it will not become shall I say, an organisation which only functions once a year at an Annual Meeting and does not do anything else, because that will be bad and better for the society to be somewhat smaller, but a functioning society because after all, whether you are small or however small you may be, you represent, if I may say so, the future. A future which is inevitably coming and is indeed upon us.

I have as you perhaps know, lived through a fairly long span of years and seen many changes, in India, in Europe and elsewhere. Looking back fifty or sixty years, say fifty years and trying to visualise the picture of the world then. It is amazing how it is different today in any part of the world. Not only India

138. Letter. File No. 17(392)/60-74-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

139. See Appendix 31.

140. Speech at its twelfth annual general meeting, 24 March 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

141. Dr V.M. Ghatage.

of course is different but even England or London where I first went fifty-five years ago; you imagine fifty-five years ago, I was in Cambridge, I took my degree exactly fifty years ago at Cambridge, and the changes that have been made. During these fifty years practically these fifty years include the beginnings, the very earliest start of aviation in the world whether it was the Wright brothers¹⁴² in America or others or Alberto Santos Dumont in France and others.¹⁴³ I even remember visiting an Aeronautical Exhibition at Frankfurt in Germany in the year 1910 that is nearly fifty years ago, when the kind of aircraft as they were trying he was come down slope, hop-up a little and come down with a bang after a hundred yards or so. Anyhow, rapidly it developed after that is with us.

Now, we are a curious and very varied country, where we find as one often says, almost every century represented. So, from people, communities living rather in primitive conditions, in our tribal areas and elsewhere too highly developed forms of production, comparable with any in the middle of the twentieth century. We talk on the one hand of aviation aeronautics, on the other a greater part of our population live, actually live and use the bullock-cart, we are in the bullock-cart stage and not that really we have moved ahead. I call the present stage in India, neither the bullock-cart stage nor the air, stage of air travel although both are there of course. But the middle stage, the bicycle stage in India. [Laughter] Because a bicycle has invaded the villages and is becoming a very popular means of transport all over India; no doubt it will grow. That reminds me when I started first learning to ride a bicycle. I think I am correct, I think it was in the year 1899. It was a long time ago. I was a little boy and we were much excited at this new thing of a bicycle which was very rare in those days. I know my father got one for himself and got one for me, and I had many falls I am afraid when I was learning, but the excitement of possessing a bicycle was great.

So, now today the bicycle has become almost a common means of conveyance and it does represent really a very great advance on the bullock-cart age. Although the bullock-cart is there all over and the bullock-cart will remain there for a long time, I don't mind an improved bullock-cart perhaps. Because all this takes time and even aviation such as it is now, is well, from the early developments which will go back to the beginning of the century, about fifty-five years or so, may be more. Even all this rapid development is taking this time. But, I think, that the pace of change now is greater because certain new fields, new avenues have opened out all this business of electronics, jet

142. Orville and Wilber Wright.

143. For Nehru's own account of these events, see SWJN/FS/2/pp. 364-367, item 44.

travel, the atomic energy, are entirely new avenues, new worlds. Coming to human camp the new forces, tremendous forces of nature, come within human control to some extent not wholly. And so the pace of change becomes more and more rapid and only a community or a nation which keeps pace with this understands this to some extent, can keep pace with the rest of the world. That is why it becomes necessary—that while we live in the bullock-cart or if you call it the bicycle age, yet we have to be absolutely and thoroughly efficient in our atomic energy establishments. We cannot have obviously a bullock-cart atomic energy establishment or even a bicycle one or even a second-rate one, it has to be as up to date as possible and no country advances by merely living on the leavings of others, mental leavings, intellectual leavings, picking up what they have done and trying to copy it in our country. No country advances in that second-rate imitative manner.

So, whether it is atomic energy, which of course, is one of the most advanced sciences now, avenues now, for the research or any other science or any other activity of technology and the rest. One has to be intellectually in the forefront and to be creative to make things, to produce things. The man who copies may be an excellent person to dine with, but he is not the person who makes changes in the world, he just imitates and we fell into this habit, of copying, imitating or not even that does getting a thing ready-made from somewhere. We are buying a very fine, a very fine automobile made in America. And we are very proud of our possession. There is nothing to be proud of. You ought to be prouder if you had something much simpler, and not merely as good, but if you had made it yourself something of proud of, you have done the job. Anybody, any fool with a lot of money, can get and buy a thing. But it requires a man with intelligence, brains, capacity for work, to produce something. A society which depends purely on the money-making outlook is a society which is ultimately doomed; because it loses all springs of action, all creativity, which is essential for a community on the move.

So now, the big changes that is taking place in India among many changes is that we are trying to get out of this habit of buying abroad and imitating what others have done. Of course, learning from others is a totally different matter; that is desirable. One should always learn, one should always have an open mind, because if you do not learn from others, you get left behind. Knowledge is common to the world, any kind of knowledge or invention, and that is why again it is not a good thing for progress, for knowledge and even inventions to be confined, putting the straightjacket and others may not know, which are of course, one of the well-known commercial practices. You get to know something from others and you try to hide it from others, so that you might make as much money from others as possible. It is supposed to be a quite

legitimate thing to do, and it may be in some ways. Though some people who deserve a great deal of sympathy, that is, authors, usually do not profit as much as they should, I think, having some sympathy for that crowd. While a person who makes a gadget makes lots of money or might. However, the point is that even though we live in the bullock-cart age, we have been and are now entering with great force into the bicycle-age; no doubt, other ages will come with greater rapidity; the automobile age will come. We are just about broadly about fifty to sixty years behind, not in our top establishments, I mean, but I am talking about the general level of advance, and we have to make that up rapidly and we will, no doubt. But we will only do so if we keep our eye on both ends of the picture. One is we have to be in the front rank of thinking, working and generally, discovery; in front ranks in so far as our resources permit. We cannot be second-rate there, even though our other activities may be backward. We have to be in the front rank and we must realise that it is not by imitating or copying or buying abroad that a nation makes progress, except to begin with: we haven't got something, we get something. But the moment after, we have to do it ourselves. That is one. The other side is and the most important side, the general level has to go up, has to go up economically, it has to go up educationally. Because really, you cannot build high ranking, shall I say, school of thought in a country without, and especially in science and in technology and like things, unless the general level has risen. You may have a brilliant mathematician. That is the possibility. But you wouldn't have a high standard of technological progress without the general level going up, not a question of half a dozen bright people carrying the country forward on their shoulders.

Now, all this is a general argument I have placed before you. How the necessity of, shall we say, the Aeronautical Society and for this society to aim not merely at the large membership, although a large membership is good, but rather at encouraging in every way quality, and the more you encourage quality, in this as in other undertakings, the more you get the sound routes and the more you can grow in the future. So, I hope that now that you have got a firm footing on this half acre of land, [laughter] you will put up your building and encourage quality in your organisation and thus make India more and more air-minded, more and more prepared to set forth on new adventures in this age of continuing adventures. [Applause]

IV. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

(a) General

192. To B. Ramakrishna Rao: Moral Rearmament in Kerala¹

March 7, 1960

My dear Ramakrishna Rao,

I enclose a copy of a letter from A.K. Gopalan.²

I do not know how far what he has written is correct. But I have been a little surprised to learn that some kind of official recognition and help is being given to the M.R.A. in Kerala. The M.R.A. is definitely a political organisation, although it functions under a different cloak. We have avoided encouraging it in any way.³ Indeed, it was with some doubt in our minds that we gave them visas to come here.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

193. To Diwan Chaman Lall: Peace and Disarmament⁴

March 8, 1960

My dear Chaman Lall,

Your letter of March 8. I am sorry I did not send you a reply to your previous letter. I was rather doubtful about this matter. Even now my mind is not quite clear. Not that I have any objection to what you are doing, but I doubt if I should make public announcements on peace and disarmament at a conference. These are highly complicated and will be coming up before the Summit⁵ and other meetings.

On the whole, I feel reluctant and I am not in the mood for this kind of thing. I have also a feeling that my close association would, oddly enough, take away something from the importance of your conference. It might be imagined

1. Letter to the Governor of Kerala.
2. CPI, Lok Sabha MP from Kasargod, Kerala.
3. For Nehru's views on MRA in April 1953, see SWJN/SS/22/p. 182, item 3 and pp. 497-498, item 1.
4. Letter.
5. Summit Conference on Disarmament, due in Paris on 16 May 1960.

that I am trying to push my policies in this way. It would be better if you and your colleagues functioned independently.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

194. To Rameshwari Nehru: Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity⁶

March 11, 1960

My dear Bijju Bhabi,⁷

You wrote to me on March 22nd [2nd]⁸ about the Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity and gave me some particulars. Thank you for this information.⁹

I shall gladly meet your delegation before it leaves India, if that is conveniently possible.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

195. To Parliamentary Consultative Committee on Foreign Affairs: Chou's Visit¹⁰

ALL COURTESY TO CHOU DURING DELHI VISIT:
PM'S ADDRESS TO MPs

New Delhi, March 14. Prime Minister Nehru is reported to have told the all-party informal consultative committee of Parliament on external affairs today that India should not involve herself in committing any act of discourtesy against Premier Chou En-lai during his forthcoming visit to Delhi for talks.

Pandit Nehru made a brief reference to the Sino-Indian dispute at the meeting of the committee today. He drew attention to one of Mr. Chou's letters

6. Letter. Rameshwari Nehru Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

7. President, Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity.

8. It should read 2nd; see Appendix 11 for Rameshwari Nehru's letter of 2 March.

9. See also SWJN/SS/57/item 211.

10. PTI report of a meeting, 14 March 1960. From *National Herald*, 15 March 1960.

in which the Chinese Premier has stated that Pandit Nehru could get a great welcome, if the meeting was held in China. Mr. Chou was believed to have felt that that kind of welcome might not be possible for him in India.

Some of the British and American newspapers had hinted that the reception which Mr. Chou could expect in India would be rather cold and even discourteous. Pandit Nehru thought that if the proposed talks were to be held outside Delhi, it would only confirm those apprehensions. He said that normal courtesy due to the Prime Minister of China should be extended to Mr. Chou, with formal receptions and a state banquet.

Pandit Nehru is also stated to have told the Congress Parliamentary Party Committee that so far no reply had been received by him from Mr. Chou on his suggestion of April 20 as the date for the meeting.

CONCERN AT TRENDS IN EUROPE

Concern is said to have been expressed at the meeting at the new trend in Europe similar to the one discernible in pre-war days. Such trends and rearmament moves recalled to one's minds the things that had happened before the war.

Pandit Nehru is understood to have informed the committee that, according to his information, the West German Government had withdrawn its request for air bases in Spain.

Pandit Nehru is understood to have referred to his own experience in Spanish civil war for four years and the first aerial bombing of Barcelona and remarked that the new trend had not only upset the Soviet Union but had alarmed even the United States and Britain.

A passing reference to Dr. Raghu Vira's remarks in the Rajya Sabha recently about Chinese plans to explode an atom bomb in the Sinkiang region¹¹ was also made by Pandit Nehru.

He is reported to have stated that it was difficult for him to say anything on the subject and he did not know from where Dr. Raghu Vira had got this information.

So far as India was concerned, if she applied her mind to the production of an atom bomb, with the facilities at her disposal, she could do so in one or two years, Pandit Nehru said. But India was opposed in policy to the utilisation of atomic energy for purposes other than peaceful.

11. On 7 March during the discussion on budget proposals; see Appendix 16.

He also replied to questions on disarmament proposals and German reunification and said that these matters would come up before the summit meeting.

STEPS TO DEAL WITH WRONG MAPS

The question of legislative measures to deal with publication of wrong maps was raised by some members, with reference not merely to Sino-Indian borders but also the Pakistan Government's proposal to publish Junagadh, Kashmir and Manavadar in their stamps as Pakistan territories.

Pandit Nehru is said to have informed the members that India had already banned entry into India of wrong maps. The question of legislative measures to deal with it, therefore, did not arise.

At the conclusion of one hour meeting, a brief press note issued said: "Among the matters discussed were the questions of disarmament, reunification of Germany, Berlin, West German Government's request for facilities in Spain and the ban on circulation of maps showing incorrect boundaries of India."

196. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Irresponsible Indians Travelling Abroad¹²

21st March, 1960

[My dear High Commissioner,]

I have your other letter of March 16¹³ in which you refer to Malcolm MacDonald's¹⁴ invitations to people from India. I have been worried about this matter myself and have actually discouraged some people from accepting the invitations coming from the CRO. Since last year or more, there has been some kind of a competition in inviting selected people from India and often the people so selected by various countries are the oddest of persons. There is, of course, the Soviet Union which invites our people of various kinds. On the whole, that has been under control. Then there is America and the UK and Western Germany. Naturally anyone so invited likes to have a free trip and it is rather difficult to come in their way. Still we have come in their way sometimes

12. Letter to the High Commissioner to the UK. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

13. See Appendix 36.

14. Malcolm John MacDonald, High Commissioner of the UK to India.

and told them not to accept.

A few days ago, Sucheta Kripalani¹⁵ came to see me and mentioned to me that she had been invited to go to the UK and later to America. It appears that everything had been fixed up about her visit and Kripalani's¹⁶ even before she mentioned this to me. I could not very well tell her not to go. Only this afternoon, a couple of hours ago, she came to say goodbye to me and said that she was leaving in two days' time to London. Kripalani will follow her later.

Sucheta, as you know, has been a General Secretary of the All Indian Congress Committee and is, on the whole, responsible though sometimes she might make mistakes. Kripalani, on the other hand, seldom says the right thing and, in spite of my great affection for him, I am often distressed by his statements in Parliament or elsewhere. Sometimes having said a wrong thing he expresses his regret. But generally there is no means of controlling him in his statements and I can suggest nothing to you that will help in this process. To tell him not to do something will irritate him all the more. And yet he has a fund of affection for us and if approached in the right way this might have some influence. Probably he will talk about Tibet and Tibetan refugees.

I agree with you that it is not at all correct or seemly for the UK Government to provide a platform for Kripalani, nor do I see the necessity of his meeting the Prime Minister.

According to our reckoning, Sucheta is a more responsible person than her husband. Also, as I have said above, she is an important person in the Congress set-up here. I think it would be right for you to pay some attention to her and give her a small party.

As for Malcolm MacDonald, I am afraid that he is not functioning now as well as we expected. There are various reasons for this and perhaps when I meet you I might talk about them. Kingsley Martin¹⁷ and Dorothy Woodman¹⁸ dined with me the other day and expressed their regret at what they said was the deterioration in Malcolm. Anyhow, I shall convey your message to N.R. Pillai and M.J. Desai so that they might gently point out to Malcolm MacDonald that he might restrain himself in issuing invitations on behalf of the CRO.

[Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

15. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from New Delhi, and General Secretary, AICC.

16. J.B. Kripalani, PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Sitamarhi, Bihar.

17. Editor of *New Statesman* and *Nation*.

18. British writer and activist; companion of Kingsley Martin.

197. In the Lok Sabha: Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference¹⁹

Question: ²⁰Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether he is attending the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference and if so, when;
- (b) whether he is also visiting certain European countries;
- (c) if so, which are they; and
- (d) which of the African countries he is visiting on his way back to India?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan): (a) Yes. The Conference is due to commence on the 3rd May 1960.

(b) to (d). The Prime Minister has no plans at present to visit any other country in the course of his journey to or from the United Kingdom.

Shri Ram Krishan Gupta: May I know whether it is a fact that the hon. Prime Minister has received an invitation recently from the Prime Minister of France?

Shri Raghunath Singh: President of France, not Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): I have received an informal message to the effect that the President of France would be pleased if I could visit Paris for a talk, in the course of my stay in the United Kingdom, and I have replied that I would most gladly welcome this opportunity, if it could be fixed up and arranged, in view of the numerous engagements in London during that period.

Shri Hem Barua: May I know whether it is a fact that discussions on disarmament as also on the Summit Conference are going to dominate the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London, and if so, whether our Government propose to make any specific suggestions on this issue for discussion at the conference, and if so, what they are?

19. Oral answers to questions, 22 March 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XLI, cols 7192-7195.

20. By Congress MPs Ram Krishan Gupta, J.B.S.Bist, Rameshwar Tantia; Independent MP S.M. Banerjee; and PSP MP Hem Barua.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is an astounding question. The position of India in regard to disarmament is very well known. We are in favour of it to the largest extent possible. The derailed working out of it depends so much on the agreement of the principal Powers concerned that India does not wish to come in the way of any agreement that they can arrive at. We can offer suggestions. We have offered suggestions in the United Nations, which are well known.

Shri Chintamani Panigrahi :²¹ It has been published in some papers in Pakistan that the President of Pakistan will discuss the question of the canal water dispute with the Prime Minister during his stay in London. How far is this true, and is there any formal or informal agenda to this effect?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The canal water dispute is being discussed and attended to in Washington by the representatives of both countries as well as the World Bank. And they have gone a long way towards arriving at an agreement. There are certain matters still pending and some of them require further discussion.²² So, I do not see how any necessity need arise for any discussion elsewhere.

Shri Ramanathan Chettiar:²³ May I know whether the Prime Minister is likely to take up the question of the former French possessions, with the President of France?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: That arose a little while ago in another connection. I really do not know what I can take up and what I cannot take up. It depends on many factors. If I have the advantage of meeting President de Gaulle, I do not go with any agenda; I do not go with any demands, to make on him; I go to discuss, to have a talk with him, about current matters. What will come in the course of talk, I cannot say at the present moment.

Shri Tyagi: For how long will the Prime Minister be away from India?

21. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Puri, Orissa.

22. The World Bank announced on 1 March 1960 that a final agreement would be arrived at in two months, and that the Indus Waters treaty would be based on the Bank's proposal of February 1954.

23. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Pudukottai, Madras.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Normally, this conference lasts in London for about two weeks, and probably, I shall come back at the end of that period. It is not my present intention to visit any other country, but I do not rule out the possibility of stopping en route somewhere.

Shri Raghunath Singh: At present India is the second nation in the Commonwealth as far as shipping goes; and it is being hardly competed by the English lines. May I know whether this question will be taken up in the Commonwealth Conference that English shipping will not try to obstruct Indian lines?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am almost sure that this will not be taken up.

Shri Hem Barua: The hon. Prime Minister just now said that when he visits Paris current matters might be discussed with Gen. de Gaulle. May I know whether the current matters would include the French atomic test in the Sahara²⁴ and the infringement of the U.N. resolution and something about the resolution that is pending in the U.N.O.?

Mr. Speaker: All hon. Members may pass on suggestions to the hon. Prime Minister as to what he ought to do.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Certainly, these suggestions, if I may say so with all respect, of hon. Members will not carry us very far, because these talks are not talks about specific issues and demands. The whole nature of the talks disappears when one goes to discuss particular issues like this—and demands and other things. That is not the way we have normal talks on such occasions.

Shri Hem Barua: If this test in Sahara is not a current matter, what is the current matter to be discussed with Gen. de Gaulle?

Raja Mahendra Pratap: Will the hon. Prime Minister brings up the question of World Government at the Conference? That will settle all questions of the Commonwealth.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: That too is very unlikely, Sir.

24. On 13 February 1960; another followed on 1 April.

(b) Law of the Sea Conference

198. To Dwight D. Eisenhower: Fishing and Territorial Limits²⁵

March 5, 1960

Dear Mr President,

Thank you for your message of the 5th February on the forthcoming conference on the Law of the Sea at Geneva,²⁶ which I received from Ambassador Bunker on February 10, together with an aide mémoire setting out your government's views in a greater detail. I am sorry that I have taken some time to reply to the message. It raises important issues to which we wanted to give the fullest consideration in the light of the views expressed by your government as well as other friendly governments.

I entirely agree with you as to the desirability of reaching a generally acceptable formula regarding the width of the territorial sea and the contiguous fishing zone. I can assure you that the Government of India delegation, which will be led by our Law Minister, will spare no efforts to that end.

It occurs to me that the problem is simple so far as the width of the fishing zone is concerned. There is general agreement that a belt 12 miles wide should be reserved to the coastal states for fishing purposes. There are some countries, including the USA, which feel that the long established fishing rights of other countries in the zone beyond the first 6 miles from the coast should be respected. We feel that this should be left to be arranged by bilateral agreements between the coastal states and other states claiming customary fishing rights.

The real difficulty is about the width of the territorial sea. We appreciate the efforts which your government are making to agree on a compromise formula which would meet the reasonable requirements of the coastal states without interfering with the traditional freedom of the sea. You will recall that at the initial stages of the Geneva Conference in 1958 our delegation in Geneva supported a proposal which would give every country the right to determine the width of its territorial sea up to a limit of 12 miles in accordance with its own particular needs.²⁷ When it became clear later that such a proposal was not likely to receive the requisite two-thirds majority, and that a compromise formula of 6-mile territorial sea and a further 6-mile fishing zone was likely to find acceptance, we accepted the latter proposal. We did so in the hope that

25. Letter to the President of the USA.

26. The second United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea took place at Geneva from 17 March to 26 April 1960.

27. See SWJN/SS/42/pp. 681-682, item 1.

this would finally dispose of a highly contentious issue. Unfortunately, even this proposal did not get the requisite support and fell through.

We have now reviewed the problem in the light of the known views of many smaller countries in Asia and Africa which have won their independence in recent years. These countries feel that a 12-mile width of the territorial sea is essential to ensure their security. The Government of India feel that the views of these countries should not be ignored, and that an attempt should be made, in the course of the forthcoming conference, to allay their fears, even if they might appear to be exaggerated. When you briefly mentioned the matter to me at our recent meeting in Delhi, my intention was to assure you that the efforts which your government were making towards a generally acceptable compromise formula would receive our most sympathetic attention. I am sorry if I gave you the impression that we would support any particular formula. We are, however, conscious of the need for reaching a settlement acceptable to the great majority of the countries in the world, and our delegation will cooperate with yours and other delegations to that end.

With warm personal regards,

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

199. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Three, Six, or Twelve Miles²⁸

The question of the Law of the Sea has a fairly long history behind it. At the last conference held in Geneva, our representatives played a fairly important part. Some agreements were arrived at. But, on the major question of the territorial limits, no agreement was arrived at. Since then we have considered this, matter on several occasions rather fully.

2. We agree that it is desirable for some agreement to be arrived at, if that is at all possible. Otherwise every country will function for itself and friction and difficulty will arise.

3. There are broadly two approaches to this question —one is that of the great maritime powers and the other of the smaller countries and, more especially, of the newly independent countries. Their interests clash somewhat. In the old days, when the big maritime countries held sway over the world and

28. Note, 11 March 1960.

of the seas, they made rules which were advantageous to them and gave them full scope to exercise their authority and to preserve their special interest. They laid down a three mile territorial limit. In regard to fisheries also, they exercised special rights. Now that other countries want to have a say in this matter, they do not see why they should accept this dominating position of the great maritime powers even near their own territories. They feel, with some justification, that their security and even freedom may be imperilled. It is possible to say that in present conditions this may not happen. But their apprehension is there and one cannot rule out completely the possibility of this happening. Ten years or so ago, when the Dutch were trying to suppress the Indonesian movement for freedom, they went right up to the Indonesian islands and in between them. When there was some trouble in Lebanon nearly two years ago,²⁹ the United States fleet came right up to the coast and indeed landed armed forces. This could have been done anyhow, but it was facilitated by the fleet being right near the shore.

4. To the best of my recollection, three or four points arise.

- (1) What is called the right of innocent passage. This means warships in peace-time. We wish to insist that when warships come, they should take the permission of the country concerned and not have a free right to come without that permission.
- (2) Indonesia has put forward a proposal about what is called an "archipelago" area being included in the territorial waters. This means including a huge area within the territorial waters, this area being limited by connecting lines between extreme points of the islands. This seems to us to be somewhat unreasonable. I can understand the anxiety of the Indonesians to prevent their inner seas being used against them. Nevertheless, to include a vast area in this way cannot be justified.
- (3) Fisheries. Broadly speaking, it has been agreed or is likely to be agreed that the fishery limit should be twelve miles. We are agreeable to this. Any two countries, however, may have bilateral arrangements which may differ somewhat from this line. That is to say, they can come to an agreement without infringing on somebody else's rights.
- (4) I now come to the territorial waters limit. The maritime powers wanted it to be three miles. Some countries, especially in South America, have laid down far greater distances, even going up to a hundred miles or more. Generally speaking, however, the argument is now confined to

29. For disturbances in Lebanon in May 1958, see SWJN/SS/42/pp. 630-631, items 1 and 2.

six miles or twelve miles. The former is advanced by the maritime powers, in case the three mile limit is not acceptable. The twelve mile limit is put forward by a number of smaller countries. This difference is really not very important in the age of modern weapons. But it has certain value from the psychological point of view and because of various apprehensions in the minds of smaller countries. We think that twelve mile limit is by no means unreasonable, but we do not wish to stick to it at the cost of breaking an agreement. That is, we are prepared ultimately to agree to a six mile limit of territorial waters and twelve miles for fisheries, in order to achieve a general agreement. At the same time, we think it is important that no decision should be, enforced on the large number of smaller countries against their will. We dislike greatly to fall out with these many countries of Asia and Africa as well as South America on this issue, even though we may not feel strongly on this subject on the merits.

5. The U.K. and the U.S.A. as well as some other countries are insisting on a six mile limit and indeed less if possible. I should like to point out to them that quite apart from the merits of the case, is it worthwhile to irritate a number of the smaller countries and increase their apprehensions. I do not myself see what major loss is caused to the big maritime powers if the territorial water limit is twelve miles. I would, therefore, urge them to try to come to some understanding, carrying the smaller countries with them.

6. This hope is not likely to be realised. This is indicated by the repeated pressures being brought upon us by the U.K. and U.S.A., even to the extent of President Eisenhower writing to me himself. He spoke to me about it also here. Nevertheless, I should like to put this aspect of the matter to them, that in the changed circumstances of the world today, it is desirable to carry the many smaller countries in any decision that is made. Indeed, the possibility is that otherwise it may not be possible to get the required two-thirds majority for any decision and the deadlock will continue.

7. There is a possibility of the Conference recommending something and leaving certain latitude to some countries. That is, the Conference may express its preference for the six mile territorial limit and twelve miles for fisheries, but at the same time allowing those who have so decided to maintain a twelve mile territorial limit. This is probably not a satisfactory way of dealing with this matter.

8. All this comes more or less to this that we should try our best to get an agreement which carries both the great maritime powers and the smaller countries. Ultimately, however, we are prepared to accept the six mile territorial limit plus twelve miles for fisheries.

9. Our delegation to this Law of the Sea Conference at Geneva will be led by our Law Minister, Asoke Sen. He is fully conversant with all these matters. In fact he led our last delegation. He will be given certain latitude, within the limits mentioned above, to deal with the situation.

10. This note is really meant for you and not to be shown as such to Lord Home or any U.K. representative. But you can speak to him broadly on these lines. You can tell him that we have given very careful thought to this matter because we are eager to find some way to an agreement.

(c) People's Republic of China

200. To Chou En-lai ³⁰

PARTHASARATHY from DUTT.

Please transmit the following message immediately to Premier CHOU EN-LAI:

Begins – “My dear Mr. Prime Minister,

I thank you for your letter of the 26th February.³¹ I am glad that you have accepted my invitation to visit Delhi so that we can have talks about our problems and explore avenues which may lead to a peaceful settlement of these problems. I shall look forward to your visit in April.

We shall naturally try to suit your convenience about the date of your visit here. If I may suggest it, about the 20th April might perhaps be suitable. I shall probably have to leave India for Europe on the 29th or 30th April.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU,” Ends

2. For your information, Prime Minister will be otherwise engaged until about the middle of April. The Tibet Convention which is being organised by Jai Prakash Narayan³² and likely to be attended by a number of foreign

30. Telegram from S. Dutt to G Parthasarathi, 4 March 1960. JN Collection. The message to Chou En-lai is available in *White Paper* III, p. 152; it was tabled in the Lok Sabha on 10 March 1960.

31. Published in *White Paper* III, p. 99.

32. Sarvodaya leader and a leading member of the Praja Socialist Party.

[CONVENTION ON TIBET]

Our Own Tibetan Problem



An Afro-Asian Convention on Tibet was held in Delhi

[From left : Jayaprakash Narayan, C. Rajagopalachari, Nehru, Chou En-lai]
(From *Shankar's Weekly*, 17 April 1960, p. 8)

representatives is being held in Delhi from April 8 to 11.³³ It would obviously be advisable for Premier Chou En-lai to reach Delhi after the Convention is over. In personal discussion, therefore, you should discourage an earlier date of the Prime Ministers meeting, although a day or two earlier would not matter. Incidentally, as you know, under our law and procedures, we could not prohibit the holding of the Convention even if we wanted to.

3. We are agreeable to definite dates being fixed through normal diplomatic channels.

33. Afro-Asian Convention in New Delhi, 9-11 April 1960, attended by nearly fifty delegates from eighteen countries of Asia and Africa, to demand the liberation of Tibet. At the instance of West Asian and African delegates, the agenda included their anti-colonial struggles also. It decided on an Afro-Asian Council based in New Delhi with Jayaprakash Narayan as President, and also a permanent Council for Tibet to work for the rights of Tibetans and the rehabilitation of refugees.

201. In the Rajya Sabha: Mail-Runners Missing in Ladakh³⁴

Dr. A. N. Bose:³⁵ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that two mail-runners detailed to carry mail in Ladakh area near the Indo-Chinese border, were missing for the last two and a half months; and
- (b) if so, whether they have since been traced?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) and (b) It is true that two mail-runners of the Dras area in the Jammu & Kashmir State are missing since 23-5-1959. But this area is about 250 miles within Indian Territory and although their disappearance is still unaccounted, there is no reason to suspect that this has any political significance or foul play.

Dr. A. N. Bose: Was any enquiry made about their whereabouts?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Naturally, Sir, when people disappear we enquire about their disappearance. We found that no paper or money was missing; they just disappeared. So no question arose of intrigue or political connection with this though some people may be inclined to think that because the Chinese have committed aggression, this might be connected with that. The distance is too great in that area. There is a possibility that these two runners deserted because some charges had been made against them and they were a little afraid of the enquiry into the charges and they might have deserted and gone over into a neighbouring country on the western side.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: Since my hon. friend is interested, I am also interested. Was the P.S.P. office in Calcutta or Delhi looked into to see whether such people are lodged there?

(No reply)

34. Oral answers to questions, 8 March 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVIII, cols 3054-3055.

35. PSP, Rajya Sabha MP from West Bengal.

202. In the Rajya Sabha: Chinese Occupation of Chanthan Salt Mines Area in Ladakh³⁶

Question: ³⁷Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that the Chinese have occupied Chanthan salt mines area in Ladakh;
- (b) whether the residents of that area have been stopped from collecting salt from there by the Chinese army; and
- (c) if so, what action Government have taken in this connection?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) to (c) The salt mines in Chanthan area and the salt lakes are in the North-East corner of Ladakh, which is in illegal occupation of the Chinese forces. There have been no reports of any persons from our side in recent months having attempted to proceed to these mines to collect salt and having been refused access.

Shri Jugal Kishore: May I know since when these salt mines are occupied by the Chinese?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: There is no question of occupation. A certain part of Ladakh has got certain Chinese posts presumably established there in various parts. This particular salt mine area is, you might say, covered by those check posts. In that sense whether it is occupied or not, you may describe it as you like, but there is no actual evidence of occupation.

Shri Jaswant Singh: I would like to know whether it is a fact that the Indian nationals living in Ladakh have been prohibited to collect salt from these salt mines.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No such case has come to our notice.

Shri Maheswar Naik:³⁸ May I know whether these mines fall actually under our jurisdiction or they are beyond our jurisdiction?

36. Oral answers to questions, 8 March 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVIII, cols 3055-3057.

37. By Congress MPs Jugal Kishore and Ram Sahai.

38. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Orissa.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have just said that it is more or less covered, that is, covered in the sense of jurisdiction. But the question of jurisdiction does not arise; if I may put it this way, at the present moment it is not accessible to us.

Dr. H.N. Kunzru:³⁹ Can Indian nationals go there and collect salt?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: What was the question?

Dr. H.N. Kunzru: I want to know whether Indian nationals can go there and collect salt. What is the information of the Government on the point?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: We have no information of any person trying to go there and no information about his being stopped.

Shri N.M. Lingam:⁴⁰ May I know if it is south or north of the Aksai Chin-Tibet road that has been constructed by the Chinese?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is neither north nor south. It is in the east.

Shri Niranjan Singh:⁴¹ May I know whether the whole of it has been occupied by the Chinese or only parts of it because south must be in Indian Territory and north may be in China?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: But all this is Indian Territory. Part of it is in illegal occupation by the Chinese forces now. When I say illegal occupation, as I said just now, it is not that the whole place is covered with troops and other things taut certain Chinese check posts hold certain points and this particular part is covered by those check posts.

Shri Jaswant Singh:⁴² I understand that this area is covered by the check posts. May I know whether the check post is actually located near the salt mines?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No.

39. Independent, Rajya Sabha MP from UP.

40. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Madras.

41. PSP, Rajya Sabha MP from Madhya Pradesh.

42. Independent, Rajya Sabha MP from Rajasthan.

Shri Jaswant Singh: Then what is the meaning of saying that it is covered?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: In the military sense it is covered. That is to say, they can guard it; they can prevent access to it if they want.

203. In the Rajya Sabha: Chinese in Chanthan Salt Mines⁴³

ALLEGED OCCUPATION BY CHINESE OF CHANTHAN SALT MINES AREA IN LADAKH

Mr. Speaker: I have received notices of Adjournment Motions. One is from Shri Hem Barua. To some extent it has been answered already. It says: "The situation of grave concern for us all created by the illegal occupation of the Chanthan Salt Mines area in Ladakh, an explicitly Indian territory, by China and the conversion of this illegally occupied area into a bastion of the Chinese by encircling this region with check-posts, thereby preventing Indians from collecting salt from the Salt Mines which legitimately belong to us."

Shri Hem Barua: May I say a few words, Sir? In our latest note to China, we have affirmed that there have been no border incidents during the recent weeks. This must be due to the fact that most of these areas are snow-bound, but in spite of it, China is slowly and persistently creeping into Indian territory and there is alleged news of the illegal occupation of the Chanthan Salt Mines. They have not only occupied this area but they have encircled the area with check-posts. At the same time they have prevented our people from collecting the salt from the salt mines there.

Mr. Speaker: Where does he get the information from?

Shri Hem Barua: I will come to it, Sir. The pity is that the Government has so far

43. Discussion on the notices of adjournment motions, 9 March 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XL, cols 4911-4915.

Mr. Speaker: I do not want arguments. First of all, let me know what is the source of information of the hon. Member.

Shri Hem Barua: This was what the Prime Minister said yesterday in the Rajya Sabha, but, then, in the Rajya Sabha the Prime Minister did not indicate the date of occupation. The date is yet to be indicated. It is a pity that wherever illegal occupation of Indian territory takes place, the news of it emanates and comes to the knowledge of the people always from non-official sources, whether it is in the case of Longju⁴⁴ or in the case of Chanthan salt mines. This is a reflection or a sad commentary on the state of things, particularly the machinery and the material the Government possess. It all emanates from non-official sources.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member is going on digressing. I only wanted to know what is the source of his information. Of course, I can immediately say that if the hon. Minister makes a statement in the other House that cannot be a matter for Adjournment Motion in this House. Otherwise, every day we will have adjournments of that House and this House on account of statements, etc!

Shri Hem Barua: May I make a submission?

Mr. Speaker: What more does he want to say?

Shri Hem Barua: In the statements made in this House during the Question Hour, certain information percolated. This question involves certain fundamentals also. My particular point in giving notice of this Adjournment Motion is this. How is it that our machinery always fails and how is it that the information comes first only through non-official agencies? Then the information goes through a process of admission, non-admission, refusal to admit, and all sorts of things. Ultimately, it is established as in the case of Longju and as in the case of Chanthan mines. At the same time. . .

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. The hon. Member obviously suggests that if the same information is known to the Government, there and then, they must come to the House and tell the House, "Yes, yes; they have encroached upon one mile, two miles, that is the location", and so on. Is that the object?

44. See SWJN/SS/51/items 193 and 197 and subsequent volumes.

Shri Hem Barua: Yes.

Mr. Speaker: Therefore, for not having done so, this Government is censured! The hon. Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): I have said something about this matter in this House and also in the other House. Surely this House does not expect me to contradict myself. I have said exactly the same thing, possibly in somewhat different language. Only a short while ago, this question came up incidentally.

The fact of the matter is, talking about the source of information which you were pleased to enquire, the hon. Member said, it is a non-official source. I will go further; it is a non-official source from Jammu, which is so completely irresponsible that it has made a habit of spreading news which has absolutely no foundation, I am merely saying that because that happens several times. The Kashmir Government have drawn particular attention to this fact that this organisation does this with the least enquiry, knowledge, just for the fun of it, I suppose; I do not know why. Anyhow, this is completely wrong. I mean what it has said. The hon. Member is rather perhaps confused by my mentioning the check posts in the other House. Nothing has happened in this area for the last many months.

We discussed this position, not of the salt mines, but of the Chinese aggression, here on several occasions. Nothing has happened there to change that position. It may be, as the hon. Member himself said, nothing can happen during the winter months because nobody goes there or can go there during the winter months. But nothing has happened to the salt mines. It is only because this organisation has mentioned something about the salt mines that they have come within the ken of the hon. Member. But they have been within that area, which months ago was broadly illegally occupied by the Chinese forces. That is bad enough; there has been no other advance or encroachment during that time and there could be none also, because of various circumstances. When I mentioned the word "checkposts", I merely said it because in various parts of this area, not now, but many months ago, the Chinese have put their check posts and that broad area is controlled by those check posts, I am not referring to these particular salt mines.

Shri Hem Barua: May I know whether they have prevented our people from taking salt from there?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: How does the hon. Member know that? He is basing

himself on some totally unreliable information from an unreliable authority based on an unreliable organisation. But again, if I may say so, apart from facts, it is physically impossible—the period is such that nobody went there or could go there.

Shri Hem Barua: The Prime Minister said that that source is thoroughly unreliable. That is what the Prime Minister of Kashmir also has said. But the fact is the news or information emanating from a source that is supposed to be thoroughly unreliable by two Prime Ministers, is corroborated by the statement of our Prime Minister in the Rajya Sabha. He has nowhere said that the salt mines are not occupied; he has nowhere said that the salt mines have not been controlled by check posts; he has nowhere said that they have not prevented our people from collecting salt from there. There is a regular admission of this information emanating from whatever source it may be; it is true.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: What is this organisation which is unreliable and which is spreading the news?

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member says it is a natural inference; if the salt mines in that territory are occupied, naturally the inference is Indians will be prevented.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The salt lake has been in that part of the area which was occupied months ago; nothing fresh has been occupied. . . .

Shri Hem Barua: Occupied illegally.

Mr. Speaker: That is so; when it is occupied, it is always illegal.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: So, I do not understand all these arguments nor the statement that I have been supporting the allegation of an organisation in Jammu. I do not know, as I had just stated, what language I am to use to be understood. Maybe my English is not good enough; I am prepared to use Hindi. I know no third language.

204. In the Lok Sabha: Chinese Intrusion⁴⁵

Shri P.K. Deo:⁴⁶ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state how many square miles of Indian territory are under the occupation of the Chinese forces?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan): It is difficult to give the precise area of Indian territory under illegal occupation of Chinese forces. The area broadly covered by the Chinese Army posts is about 12,000 square miles.

Shri P.K. Deo: May I know if this area is being inhabited by Indian nationals? If so, how many Indians are residing in that occupied area?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): It is an uninhabited area. No census has ever been taken there. Usually in summer a few shepherds wander there for grazing purposes. But so far as we know, it is practically uninhabited.

Shri P.K. Deo: May I know if the area of the Chinese occupation has remained static or is on the increase?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: There has been no change there so far as we know for the last 7 or 8 months. That is to say, the position has been static.

Shri Radhelal Vyas:⁴⁷ May I know whether any income used to be derived by the Government of India or the Government of the State of Jammu and Kashmir from that territory occupied by the Chinese forces?

Shri Braj Raj Singh:⁴⁸ On a point of order. The answering of such questions would affect our integrity. It is not at all proper to go into such matters as to whether any income was derived from there and whether the territory was inhabited or not. This is something which goes against the country's integrity.

45. Oral answers to questions, 9 March 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XL, cols 4849-4850.

46. Ganatantra Parishad, Lok Sabha MP from Kalahandi, Orissa.

47. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Ujjain, MP.

48. Socialist, Lok Sabha MP from Firozabad, UP.

Mr. Speaker: Hon. Members are answering these points themselves.

Shri Goray: I would like to know whether the salt mines which they have occupied now or which are under the Military occupation of the Chinese formed part of the original area which was occupied by them or this is a new occupation.

Mr. Speaker: This was answered.

Shri Goray: No, Sir.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: There has been no occupation, no advance. This is within the area broadly covered originally by their illegal occupation. There has been nothing new.

Shri P.K. Deo: May I know if the salt lake is within the 12,000 square miles which they have occupied.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am sorry, I shall reply in Hindi if English is not understood.

यह जो सवाल मुझसे किया गया है, मैं बार बार इसका जवाब दे चुका हूँ। इन छः, सात, आठ महीनों में कुछ और नहीं हुआ है : जो वह शुरू में बढ़ आये थे उसी हद में ये नमक की झीलें हैं। वहाँ की कुछ खास ख़बर नहीं है कि वहाँ क्या होता है, या वहाँ किसी को रोका गया है या नहीं।

[Translation begins:

This question which has been put to me, I have replied to it many times. In six, seven, eight months, nothing more has happened; whatever advances they had made in the beginning, these salt lakes are in those areas. There is no specific news as to what happens there, or somebody is stopped from visiting the place or not.

Translation ends]

Shri Raghunath Singh: I have a very important question.

Mr. Speaker: Next question.

205. In the Lok Sabha: Demands for Grants for MEA ⁴⁹

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr. Speaker, Sir, not very long ago, I had occasion to address this House in regard to an important aspect of foreign affairs in the debate on the President's Address.⁵⁰ I am afraid I took a great deal of the time of the House then and I do not propose to tax the House's patience to that extent on this occasion. I hardly think it will be worthwhile for me to repeat what I said on that occasion, more particularly about one of the major questions before us, that is, the troubles we had in our frontiers because of Chinese incursions. We have discussed that on many occasions, rightly, because it is an important and vital matter.

Now, certain developments have taken place to which reference has been made. The Prime Minister of China has been invited by me to visit India for certain talks. He has accepted that invitation but yet the date has not been fixed, except vaguely about the middle or the third week of April. Some hon. Members have asked me and pressed me to say how these discussions will take place, what are the particular subjects of discussion and the like matters.

Now, I would venture to say that it is hardly possible for me or desirable for me to speak in this House or anywhere, in fact, in public about the manner of talks or the manner of carrying on talks that we might adopt. That is not the way that diplomatic conversations or any like talks take place.

In the final analysis, one puts forward in the House or in public broad policies firmly, and it is for this House or for the country to have or not to have a measure of confidence in those who speak on its behalf.

Now, the position of the hon. Speaker who spoke just before me is perfectly clear and understandable, because he thinks he has not any faith or confidence. May be, others won't have it either, but he has expressed himself with great clarity and said that the best thing for India would be to weaken the present Prime Minister and to rely on the people. With, of course, the second part, I suppose, all would agree but, perhaps, others may somehow doubt the fact that the hon. Member, Shri Yadav, as he said, represents the 40 crores of India. Perhaps, some others in this House have also some claims to representation and, perhaps, when it comes to calculation and statistics those he represents might not be easily visible without a magnifying glass. But however that may

49. Reply to the debate on the demand for grants to the MEA, 17 March 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XL, cols 6478-6502.

The discussion started on 16 March.

50. See SWJN/SS/57/item 168.

be, whatever argument he may put forward is worthy of consideration as every argument should be.

Now, with regard to the many points that have been raised, my colleague the Deputy Minister has dealt with a number of them. In regard to this particular very important matter of the frontier incursions by China, that has become, and undoubtedly is, the major issue before us, before India, in regard to our foreign policy, because anything that affects the integrity of a country must necessarily be the most vital issue for that country. After all, the foreign policy of any country concerns itself primarily with the protection of that country, with the protection of its freedom, of its sovereignty, of its integrity. These are the first tests of a foreign policy, and in so far as it is unable to do so, well, it has failed. Whether it has failed because of wrong approaches or whatever the reasons may be, in that measure it fails. I am prepared to accept that definition, that conclusion.

Therefore, in this world today which is tremendously agitated over great problems of war and peace, in the course of a month or two it is said that some of the great ones of the earth are going to meet at a summit meeting to discuss the future of the world one might say, because behind their talks lie not only the immediate questions which they might discuss about Germany or Berlin or that very vital matter, disarmament, but ultimately the future of the world does depend not finally, but it will be affected by those talks or by subsequent talks because I do not imagine that this process of talking will end with the first summit meeting because if it ended without success, then the future would be dark indeed.

It is not for me to prophesy what is going to happen there, and I have lately said in this House and elsewhere that the prospects are somewhat more favourable than they had been in the past. I believe in that and I hope for what I believe in. It is not merely wishful thinking—of course, it may be so because I so earnestly desire that some good results must come from these talks and what follows—good results in regard to disarmament, in regard to stoppage of this horrible thing, production of atomic, nuclear weapons and their tests.

I hope so. Yet, I am constrained to say that some recent developments have rather damped my optimism. Some forces appear to be at play which remind one rather forcibly of the days preceding the Second World War. I hope that these forces are not strong, and I do believe that the forces for peace are very much stronger. Nevertheless, it does cause one anxiety to realise that in spite of the two great wars, in spite of the public realisation of the terror of these hydrogen bombs etc., still there should be harping back in some people's minds on the ways and methods and thinking and actions which led to the Second World War, with this difference that the Second World War is supposed

to be rather child's play compared to the war that might descend upon us in this age of jet aircraft and nuclear weapons. That is the broad outlook in this world, an outlook of hope, but, at the same time, tense with a great deal of apprehension.

On the other hand, one sees powerful movements, also full of hope, moving the millions of Africa, new countries arising there in their independence, new leadership, new urges, new passions, sometimes new conflicts. We talk about Algeria, and with Algeria, with their struggle for freedom, we have sympathised and we have sent them our good wishes. But it is not Algeria alone today but the whole structure of the African continent that is changing and something new is emerging, something new that will undoubtedly have a powerful effect on the future of the world.

I often wonder what this world will look like in the next 20 years, 30 years or by the end of the century—it is not far off this period. It will be very different. We have seen great changes in Asia taking place, continuing. We see now this emergence of Africa on the world scene with a tremendous bang—it has not come slowly, it has come rapidly and rather noisily—and no man knows what the effect of it is going to be, because Africa with all its story of horror and suffering for centuries past is a country full of vitality, and a nation whose people are full of vitality cannot be sat upon too long.

In Africa also one sees the most flagrant example of a policy proclaimed to be a policy of racial suppression, racial antagonism, racial discrimination, a policy of the master race, pursued by those in the south of this continent of Africa, a policy however much it may perhaps have sympathy from some people in some countries, which at any rate, hardly any person in other countries openly accepts or sides with not even those who may be considered the conservatives of the present age. And yet, there it is, and it is an amazing sight here in Africa, these countries rising up with all their strength and vitality and passion, and anger too sometimes, and there it is still, the continuation of this policy in the far south.

What is going to be the result of all this? These two things are mutually antagonistic. The great new independent African States can never agree to this kind of discrimination and racial antagonism which, in the ultimate analysis, is continuing insult to them and indeed to everyone concerned. So, we see this. I do not know how things will develop. But I am merely pointing out to this House these tremendous changes and upheavals that are taking place so that we might see our own problems, important as they are to us, in this wider picture and wider structure.

Behind all this lies this technological development which has produced atomic energy, atomic bomb, the jet aircraft, the space age and all that coming

up with rapidity which we can hardly follow in our minds and which obviously are going to change the shape of things in the world and the shape of human living and all that. That is the world we live in. It is a good world for those who dare, who are not afraid, and who can look ahead and are not lost in petty squabbles and petty arguments. It is a bad world for those who do not realise what the world is and where it is aiming and are continuously looking at their own feet instead of looking sometimes ahead, into the distance and to the stars. Whether it is a good world or a bad world, it is the world we live in and we have to face it with all its dangers and all its promises.

As I said, we should have this picture before us but inevitably we have to look at our own problems and the major problem for us in the foreign field is the problem of our frontier. There is no doubt about it, and some of us may not speak in the high key of some Members of the Opposition, nevertheless, it is obvious that everyone of us is gravely concerned about this problem not only in the present but in the future that looms before us; gravely concerned, not merely because it has taken place—it is where it is—but because of all manner of implications attached to it, all manner of forebodings.

I ventured to point out on a previous occasion that what has happened on our frontier is bad enough but the real historical significance of this is that something new has come. All this talk which hon. Members opposite indulge in, of how we should behave on this occasion and on that occasion, what strong speeches we may deliver and the opposition may deliver, as to what we should have done in 1950 in regard to Tibet and what we should do now, is, I would say with all respect, a very petty change in this mighty development that has taken place, as if in 1950, if we had sent a different letter to the Chinese Government, the whole course of world history and the Chinese history and the misfortunes that have happened to Tibet would have changed.

I am amazed and astounded at this very simple type of reasoning of historical events and mighty forces at play and the lack of understanding that is shown in regard to them. Naturally, if you ask me, I am grieved at a great deal that has happened in Tibet. I think that the people of Tibet deserve our sympathy in every sense of the word. That is true. Nevertheless, the point that comes before me—not now but in 1950, 1951, 1955 and 1959—is what we as a nation can do about it, safeguarding our own honour, interests, etc. and helping the causes we have at heart. We have many causes at heart all over the world. If we have a cause at heart, naturally, somewhere in the African continent, that applies even more to the Asian continent and to those who might be our neighbours. But the fact remains: how do we understand this picture and what do we do about it.

It is easy for hon. Members on that side or this side to speak bravely in this

House. But it should be remembered that this great Parliament, which is sovereign in India, and whose writ runs to every corner of India, cannot send its writs beyond the corners of India and cannot send its writs where they cannot be accepted and will not be accepted. We cannot issue an order to Africa or to the American continent or to other parts of Asia. Sometimes hon. Members speak here as if we have merely to pass a resolution here or deliver a speech here and the history of the world will change and the great forces at work in the world will somehow climb down because a speech has been made or a resolution passed.

Let us be idealists; I hope we shall never cease to be idealists. But let us also be realists and let us realise what is the world. It is no good thinking that we are living in some past age, either from the point of view of modern technology or from the point of view of modern politics and the two are intimately connected together. With all the courage in the world, it will not serve us if we are not served by modern technology in defending our country and our interests.

So, let us not go on like that. A number of times we have heard this repeated: only this morning, it was said that because something was done or said or not done or not said in 1950 by us in regard to Tibet all these difficulties have befallen us. I have no answer to that argument, because it shows such an utter lack of understanding of how things happen, what might have happened or what might not have happened. It surprises me that an hon. Member of this House has advanced that argument.

In this connection, may I with all respect mention one aspect of this and sometimes the subsequent other debates, which has troubled me greatly? An hon. Member on the other side referred by name here to a member of the other House and used language which astounded me. In this connection, I think he said—he was referring to Shri Panikkar⁵¹ and quoting from his book *In Two Chinas*—that Mr. Panikkar who was our Ambassador ten years ago had betrayed the best interests of India and that he was ashamed that he has been nominated by the President to Parliament as a representative of the Indian people.⁵² Now, apart from my totally disagreeing with those words that he has used, what troubles me is this: a habit is growing in this House of referring to people by name and condemning them, bringing charges against them when they are not here to reply. That occurred the other day in the course of a discussion on education. People's names were mentioned here precisely and

51. K.M. Panikkar, Ambassador to China from 1948 to 1952.

52. By S. Mahanty, Ganatantra Parishad Member from Dhenkanal, Orissa, in the Lok Sabha on 16 March 1960. See *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XL, cols 6309-6312.

they were charged with acts which were most undesirable. They could not answer. The surprising thing is that when that poor man ventures to answer outside, it is said, "Oh, you dare not answer". I do not understand this at all.

First of all, we use the privilege of Parliament to condemn a man and when that poor man has to say something in his own defence, it is said, "he cannot do it." This is a very surprising thing. I submit I do not know and I do not presume to know what the precise parliamentary forms and practices are in this matter. I am not referring to that but I do, and hope I know, something about the normal decencies of public life and the normal conventions which should govern parliamentary life, I do submit that any man whoever he is by name should not be condemned in this House. The hon. Member can do so outside, wherever he likes; he is on an open footing. But to exercise the privileges of this House and to bring those charges is a wrong procedure and is likely to create all manner of difficulties.

Again, if Members of this House start abusing Members of the other House, the Members of the other House have also the privilege of Parliament and no doubt they may use it. And are we going to have this kind of mutual squabbles between two Houses or within the House between Members? But apart from all this....

Shri Braj Raj Singh: Mr. Speaker, may I raise a point? This is just criticising your authority. Here in the House you are the custodian of the rights of the members and whenever a member says something which is not in accordance with the rules of the House you pull him up. When you have not pulled him up, it means that you have permitted it.

Mr. Speaker: it was rather unfortunate. I do not think I was present here when this was said.

Sardar Hukam Singh:⁵³ I was here.

Mr. Speaker: Whoever might have been present, it was rather unfortunate. The rules are specific. We ought not to abuse our privilege, a privilege which has been given not for the purpose of abusing others or saying things against others who are not here to defend themselves, but for the purpose of placing before the House without fear or favour what is in the interests of the country, without being deterred by the position of even great men outside. That is the peculiar privilege that we have for the exercise

53. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Bhatinda, Punjab; and Deputy Speaker of the Lok Sabha.

of our legitimate rights. An impression ought not to be created that we are abusing it. It is unfortunate that a hon. Member of the other House should have been referred to by name. If any person, whether a member of this House or that House, has written a book, it is open to any member to criticise that portion of the book without attributing any motives to him. The hon. Prime Minister stopped with saying that the members of the other House might criticise us. He did not go further and say that there are fourteen Assemblies in this country and every member in every Assembly may go on abusing us. Then there will be no end to it. Hon. Members should give respect and take respect. There is a definite rule that even when particular officers who are responsible to us have to be criticised, notice has to be given to me so that, if it is a proper case, I may pass it on to the Minister so that the Minister can come prepared to reply. With respect to those persons who are outside, whom we represent here, who are not in a position to explain or defend themselves, I am devising a method that no criticism of an outsider would be allowed. Unfortunately some words might have inadvertently escaped our notice. There is no meaning in saying that merely because they have gone into the papers so I have considered and given a definite ruling that it ought to happen. It might have escaped our notice. Therefore, whenever such abuses are made, it is open to any hon. Member to bring it to my notice so that if I have allowed it inadvertently on a prior occasion I might remove it later on. I will have no hesitation in doing so.

Sardar Hukam Singh: Sir, I must confess that it did not escape my notice. I pulled him up once and he withdrew his words, though that was in a different connection. A second time I warned him and asked him to use more temperate language. My difficulty was that he was quoting from the book written by the gentleman himself. Even then I told him when he quoted it and he was drawing inferences and conclusions that his views must be couched in temperate language. That was all I could do, because a book written by the hon. Member had been quoted. Therefore, I could not stop him from mentioning the name when he was quoting from the book itself. That was my difficulty. Otherwise, I felt it and I took exception to it and on one occasion in respect of the other contention he had withdrawn his words.

Shri Mahanty: May I also offer a word of explanation?

Mr. Speaker: Did he utter those words?

Shri Mahanty: I would like to know....

Mr. Speaker: Did he utter those words with respect to an hon. Member of the other House?

Shri Mahanty: I happened to refer to that gentleman in his capacity as our Ambassador in Peking, not as a member of the Rajya Sabha. It is an accident that he has been nominated to the Rajya Sabha.

Mr. Speaker: Did he say that he was nominated by the President in spite of all this?

Shri Mahanty: I said in respect of this gentleman that it is a pity that he has been nominated as a representative of the people.

Mr. Speaker: It is very improper. I have no hesitation to say that it is not right for any hon. Member to indirectly or directly cast an aspersion on a member of another House. It is open to him to refer to the book and make any remarks he likes, because the book is open to the public, but to criticise the President or to say that the other man is not competent to be in that House is very wrong. I would not permit it. Possibly, it is too late to take it out from the record. Let it stand as it is with this explanation that this House will not permit it. Therefore it will go on record for the future. Now the Prime Minister.

Shri Mahanty: May I seek a clarification? Are we not entitled to hold our opinions about public servants?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. The hon. Member may hold his opinion for himself and not give it out.

Shri Mahanty: Why?

Mr. Speaker: If any public servant is involved in anything and we have jurisdiction over him, there are methods of impeaching him by bringing it to the notice of the House. This is not the way in which he ought to be abused. If we have no jurisdiction over him outside we have little or no jurisdiction inside also.

Shri Mahanty: I contest it.

Mr. Speaker: He must abide by my ruling. He is going one step further. It is unfair. He contests my ruling. My ruling is final.

Shri Rajendra Singh: Will you give me one minute?

Mr. Speaker: No, I am not going to allow it. Now the hon. Prime Minister.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Apart from this particular matter, I have again read that book to which reference was made and I have been quite unable to understand why he drew various inferences from what Sardar Panikkar has written in his book. Of course, I have read it previously too. The charge he made against him was that he, as our Ambassador, did not keep us properly informed of developments in China. How he drew that inference, I do not know, because he kept us completely informed betimes. When I read the book I found nothing in the book which we did not know. The hon. Member might have found something. And, what is more, in what he has written in the book there is absolutely nothing wrong, to my way of thinking, in his approach to this question. He was, by and large, at that time in China the ablest and most experienced Ambassador of any country and, in fact, it was his handling of a difficult situation which was appreciated not only by our Government but various other Governments also. However, opinions might differ, of course, about the course of events, what should have been done, but to have said that he had betrayed our interests there seems to me to be going too far.

When we discuss how our Ambassadors' work, or sometimes when we talk about our external publicity, it seems to me that there is some misapprehension. It is imagined that the best publicity is presumably to throw large numbers of leaflets, books and other things on the public in the other country or for the Ambassador, shall I say, to deliver speeches and otherwise do this kind of work and give publicity. Now, one must remember what type of people one deals with. The other Government is not an ignorant Government. It has its own means of getting information from its Ambassador, from its publicity agents, from its newspapermen, from its intelligence agents. Most important countries have all these various agencies, including the last named, spread out. They get the information from these sources. It is not correct to assume that they form their opinions by the speeches delivered by the Ambassador or by the pamphlets. Most of these blatant type of propaganda may create an impression on some unlearned gathering but it creates the reverse impression on any person who is normally considered intelligent. There is a reaction against propaganda of the blatant type, so that to measure this business by the ordinary yardstick of how many leaflets have been issued or pamphlets

etc. does not help at all. I am not for a moment suggesting that our methods of propaganda are ideal or cannot be improved. I think they can be improved. They should be. There is always room for improvement. But an hon. Member suggested that they should be in charge of experienced journalists and not others.

We have tried the experienced journalists and found that they did not succeed at all. Of course, it always depends on individuals and individual journalists. An individual may be very good. But as a group they were not suited to this kind of work because they function in a different mental climate. In a different climate they would be very well but I am talking of the official climate of publicity which was not wholly suited—sometimes it was suited—to them. In fact, we had, after our experience, to revert to giving our own men special training in this. In consultation with the Union Public Service Commission we reverted to it and absorbed our publicity men into our Foreign Service so that they may not be considered as a caste apart. That is how we are functioning today and I believe we are functioning better than we used to do. But there is a great deal of room for improvement. I admit it.

On the one side we are constantly being told that we must improve our propaganda, and on the other side we are told that we are spending too much money on it. The two of course are not necessarily contradictory but there is an element of contradiction between the two. Normally speaking, we spend far less on almost every one of our activities than most countries do on their Foreign Service and publicity. The bigger countries spend much more than we do. I am glad we spend less. We should spend less. I am not saying for a moment that I am not appreciating the criticism made about better publicity but I do venture to submit that the type of publicity that perhaps some hon. Members have in their minds does not help much. The best publicity in the ultimate analysis is what one does in one's country. All the talk about it will not convince people but what we do in our country. The best publicity figure that I have known in my term of years was Mahatma Gandhi because he did things in India. He did not talk to the outside world. He just did things in India which forced public attention to India, which brought people running to India to see what he was doing in India and which brought newspapers to write about Gandhi and his work. It was because there was solidity behind it. All the leaflets, propaganda, articles and speeches in the wide world would not.... (Interruption)

Shri Mahanty: Why not wind it up then?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: We could not.

The ultimate analysis is this solid basis. People are not easily taken in by

leaflets and things about any matter. It may be that about any matter we are fully convinced of our own rightness. Sometimes it is a little helpful to see oneself with other people's eyes also and not be confirmed in a Narcissus-like attitude of thinking that we must inevitably be right in everything that we do. Other people may disagree. What are we going to do about it? We cannot force them to agree by our repeating something. We have to convince them, win them over by intellectual means and not by the bludgeon of shouting.

Shri Hem Barua: May I seek some information?

Mr. Speaker: Not now.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, let me, continue.

I am merely pointing out the approach to this question for a true understanding of it. I am by no means defending the failure that we may have committed.

Then the other things we are told about are Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan repeatedly. Nepal is an independent country. She is very friendly to us and in very close relations. Bhutan is in special treaty with us. Sikkim is in even more special treaty with us. But the way some hon. Members seem to imagine that we should go and impose our wishes, our will or even our advice on them seems to me a misunderstanding of how any one country can deal with another country. Nothing is more disliked than any attempt at imposition, even imposing something, which we may have a right to impose. Even then it is disliked, much more so by countries who, whether they are big or small, weak or strong, have a certain self-respect to keep up—and rightly so—who do not like being told to do this or that. So the type of approaches that hon. Members sometimes suggest here are the very worst approaches that one can make to these friendly countries, self-respecting countries, with whom we have close relations.

An hon. Member talking about our foreign administrative machinery referred to the High Commission in London which, indeed, he very rightly characterised as a very miniature Government of India in the sense of its various departments. They are duplicated there on a scale. It is perfectly true. But that of course does not help us either to admire it or to decry it. We have to understand the type of work it has to do. But it is on an enormous scale. I wish it was less. But there it is. There are more students than are anywhere. Then there is the huge Stores Department purchasing all kinds of things for us for our developmental purposes. Our Army, our Navy, our Air Force, everything have to have branches there. They may cease later on.

The criticism was that a Special Reorganisation Unit was sent there under one of our Joint Secretaries in the Finance Ministry and that the leader of this Unit was recalled suddenly because he could not get all the people there.⁵⁴ It has amazed me because I have not heard about it. In fact, I discussed the matter with the leader of that Unit after he came back as to what he had done. He had gone with a number of people and with a deputy. He spent some time there and laid down the method of work and left that team with the deputy to carry on for the next several months. He could not afford to spend months and months there. He came back leaving this team behind having done good work himself and leaving it to follow it up. There was no question of recall. It is entirely what the hon. Member has imagined. The result of his visit was substantial. Almost everything—I am speaking from memory—excepting, I think three Assistant Secretaries, all the various proposals were agreed to. Naturally, such reorganisation units function always in the closest coordination with the head of the Mission. That is the only way to work. Somebody goes from outside and issues orders “Get rid of these” without knowing the difficulties of the Mission people and the Head of the Mission—this kind of thing cannot work. After all, the people who make the heads of our Missions are supposed to be good for that work. We cannot ignore them. We cannot bypass them. Therefore, the whole purpose whenever the Special Reorganisation Unit works...(Interruption).

Shri Mahanty: May I ask a question?

Mr. Speaker: Hon. Members will note down whatever important points they may have.

Shri Rajendra Singh: Will you allow after the hon. Prime Minister has finished?

Mr. Speaker: I cannot say.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Whenever this Reorganisation Unit works in any Ministry or in any Mission abroad it always associates itself with the head of that Ministry or the head of the Mission. That is the way to work.

54. On 16 March 1960, S. Mahanty referred to a special reorganisation unit under Inderjit Singh, Joint Secretary in the Finance Ministry, for a work study of the High Commission in London. See *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XL, cols 6303-6306.

There were, I believe, a number of cases which they had recommended—I forget how many but it was 65 or something like that—and on subsequent talks the recommendations were varied.⁵⁵ Some people were kept for various reasons. I cannot go into the various details. The main point is that the visit of this Unit there was a very considerable success. This type of work which is close work study is paying us quite handsome dividends in making our work more efficient as also in economy.

Some hon. Member referred to the case of a person being appointed the Director of the India Stores Department in London and hinted that this was a case of—he did not use the word, I am using it—some kind of nepotism, that is, this kind of an appointment.⁵⁶

Shri Mahanty: I did not use the word nepotism.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I said so. I am saying so. He did not use the word. I am using it. I have said so. You may call it, if you like, favouritism or what you like. He said something of which I was not aware. He said that this man was defeated in an election; therefore, the presumption was, to soften the sorrow of defeat. He was being given this particular post. I was surprised; I did not know, but I have had enquiries made since then. All I knew about this man was that six years ago, on high recommendation, and if I may say so, without revealing anything, the recommendation of a person, not a member of the Congress Party at all, high or low, we tried him in some work, and he turned out to be rather good at that work. He was tried in some work, and he then became ultimately the Managing Director of Hindustan Insecticides, and the DDT Factory at Alwaye. He has done very well there. These are one or two or three of our State undertakings which have flourished, shown results, profits and all that. Naturally, he went up in our estimation. Naturally, now, after six years of his working there, he has been chosen for this more responsible work in London.

Now, about the election matter, I have not heard, but on inquiry I find that he did stand for election in 1952, that is, eight years ago.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: From which party?

55. Mahanty had said that the Special Reorganisation Unit recommended the reduction of 237 posts, and could still have reduced 65 posts.
56. Mahanty referred to "the fact that the Government of India are now completing to appoint a gentleman as the Director of India Stores Department, whose commercial knowledge is co-terminus with his failure to obtain a seat in the last elections."

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am saying that. He stood as an independent being supported by one of the parties in the Opposition.

Shri Ram Sevak Yadav:⁵⁷ Namely, which party?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, I do not want to name or throw about names; it was some Opposition Party. I did not know that he had stood and he had been defeated. He had come through the normal courses, and has ultimately been approved by the Union Public Service Commission, and has been accepted, and he has done good work, and he is being given another opportunity in a wider field, for continuing that good work.

There is one thing more, I forget where, but one of the hon. Members referred to reported differences of opinion between our Ambassador Chagla in the United States and our Commissioner-General there.⁵⁸ Well, I have not heard of this, I do not think his information is correct about it. There is no question of differences of opinion, because opinions in regard to policy are not formed either by the Ambassador or the Commissioner-General; they are formed in Delhi, and the implementation of that policy is left to them in their respective fields.

Some reference was made to the Tibetan refugees.⁵⁹ I entirely agree with the hon. Members who referred to them, that we should not treat them as an undesirable burden, but it is our duty and privilege to help them, to rehabilitate them, because, as far as one can see, they are going to be in India for a long time; how long, I cannot say. And, therefore, they should be rehabilitated.

This process of rehabilitation is not a simple matter, partly climatically, partly because they come from a totally different climate, a totally different world, into this new world of India, new climate of India, new languages of India. It is a difficult matter. And many of them, a large number of them are monks, Lamas. They again present difficulties. We are trying to settle them in two or three major localities, one of them being Dharamsala, Dalhousie or roundabout that area, where there would be a colony of them, and where we hope, within a fairly short time, the Dalai Lama himself will go and establish himself, surrounded by his people, helping them....

Shri Tyagi: I thought Mussoorie was a better place.

57. Socialist Party, Lok Sabha MP from Barabanki, UP.

58. B.K. Nehru.

59. Atal Bihari Vajpayee spoke about Tibetan refugees on 17 March.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member says that Mussoorie was a better place. Well, that is a question of opinion. Mussoorie, perhaps the very reason that the hon. Member thinks it was a better place, is a worse place, in the sense, I mean, that it is a flashy place, it is a tourist place, it is a place where people, especially monks and others, cannot easily settle down.

We had the advantage in Dharamsala of a great deal of accommodation, old British barracks which are not used, barracks of British soldiers, quite good, which are not used; and the Punjab Government and our Army Authorities etc. could place them at our disposal. So, we have a good climate there, because they can only settle down in the hills. Some hon. Member suggested our sending them to South India. That would be a tragedy; if we did send them to the climate of South India, I do not know whether they would survive.

डॉ राम सुभग सिंह : ऊटी वगैरह में तो वे रखे जा सकते हैं।

[Translation begins:

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: They may be settled in Ooty.

Translation end]

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: So, they have to be in the hills. Here is good accommodation, and so we are trying to do that. It is a difficult matter. Of course, all their children are going to schools but we are organising language studies for the grown-up students.

And while, on the one side, in Sikkim, in Dharamsala and some other places we settle them in some numbers, the problem is by no means solved. The others are left over, and others are coming still, in small numbers, but are coming still. It is a continuing problem.

Some hon. Members opposite referred to the fact that reading our annual report,—which, I may in all humility suggest, is a good report, that is, good in the sense of giving as much information as we can about our various activities, because we want every Member of Parliament to be acquainted with all these multifarious activities in all the corners of the world—one finds that all the old problems still remain; there is the problem of Goa, there is the problem of Pondicherry, of de jure transfer, and there is the trouble over.....

An. Hon. Member: Kashmir.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am talking about Indian problems—there are troubles

with Pakistan and so on. Of course, he said that all the old problems remain, and now, we have added a new problem of our frontier with China or Tibet. It was perfectly true. I entirely agree with him. All the old problems remain, with some variations. There are some minor problems with Pakistan, which have been settled, about some border troubles, but major problems are being discussed; some may be settled.

As for Goa and Pondicherry, certainly, I can report no progress. Of course, they stand on a separate footing. So far as Pondicherry is concerned, we are at least there; the fact that the *de jure* transfer has not been made comes in our way.

The suggestion was made the other day, and our attention was drawn to certain appeals from Pondicherry being preferred in Paris. This is very odd, I must say, and rather undesirable, and I hope that even before the *de jure* transfer takes place or not, we shall be able to put an end to this business and try to bring in our Supreme Court into the picture even in regard to Pondicherry, because it is very difficult; we have been promised so often, and assured so often of this matter being finally settled, by the French Parliament or Government, and we went on waiting but all these years have passed and something or other intervenes.

I shall not take much more of the time of the House, I would submit that in this very difficult and tortured world, we have to take long views, and long view does not mean our not seeing the ground before us and merely gazing at the stars, but we just cannot understand this tremendously revolutionary period of history which is today, without having some understanding of these forces that are at work, forces, technological forces, which are converted into mighty revolutionary urges, and these nationalist and other urges which we see in Africa and elsewhere; and in Europe and America, there is great demand for peace, and yet, somehow, a revival of the old militarism showing its head, which is rather alarming. It is rather odd. if we have to play any important part in this world, we can only do so by looking after ourselves first of all, understanding the world—trying to understand it—not throwing our weight about, but looking at these world problems with some humility, not imagining that we can solve them because that is neither right nor does it create a good impression—to throw weight about and tell them what to do. If we can manage our own little country with tolerable efficiency and success, we shall affect the world more that way than advice being given.

In these matters there may be differences of opinion, but I believe most hon. Members will agree, just as this question which is a vital one for us—about those border troubles—there is no vital difference, maybe differences in shade and degree, except perhaps among some hon. Members opposite who

think differently. I am referring to the members of the Communist Party. But I doubt even among members of the Communist Party if some do not have that pull—what you call a nationalist pull—which does not lose itself in vague and amorphous internationalism. I believe, I have some international urges and feelings and I think the next stage in the world's progress is going to be internationalism unless it is destroyed before that. But internationalism which has no roots anywhere becomes quite amorphous and in the air and, therefore, it does not really play that part which it should in moulding the world. So we have to function in this nationalist sphere and this wider international sphere. We can only do good in the international affairs if we are true to ourselves and our country.

Shri Rajendra Singh: Sir, the Prime Minister in the course of his speech raised a very pertinent point. He said that some Members of this House made certain charges against the Vice Chancellor of the Aligarh University and the Vice Chancellor replied to those charges in the press. Nobody, as far as I know, from this side made any objection to that. It was the Education Minister who made objection to it. Therefore, the Prime Minister's duty was to pull up the Education Minister than to have raised voice against us. It is very unfair to us.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I did not mention any name, Sir. I did not wish to mention any names. It is others who have brought in names. The name of Mr. Abdul Majit Khwaja was brought in the picture. He is not a Member of this House.⁶⁰

Shri Rajendra Singh: It was your Education Minister.

Mr. Speaker: So far as that matter is concerned the practice is this. If any outsider's honesty or his integrity is challenged, he writes to me and I immediately send it to the Minister. He would not have an access to this House except through a letter. If the Minister finds that he has made a wrong statement, it is for him to correct. I leave it at that stage. We do not

60. Abdul Majid Khwaja was the Chancellor of Jamia Millia Islamia and a member of the executive council of AMU. On 2 March 1960 during a discussion in the Lok Sabha on AMU, Prakash Vir Shastri, Independent Lok Sabha MP from Gurgaon, made certain allegations against several people including A.M. Khwaja, see *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXIX, cols 3840-3868. Khwaja, in a letter to the press, replied to these charges, see Appendix 28 for Khwaja's letter in *National Herald* on 13 March.

have an enquiry. The hon. Prime Minister did not accuse the Opposition so far as that matter is concerned. (Interruptions)

Some Hon. Members rose—

Mr. Speaker: I am not going to allow new persons to get up. Shri Mahanty and Shri Hem Barua wanted to put questions.

Shri Mahanty: I wanted to ask a question with reference to the recommendations of the Special Reorganisation Unit of the Finance Ministry which went into the establishment of the High Commission in U.K. According to the Report, the recommendations were unanimously agreed recommendations, agreed between the High Commission.....

Mr. Speaker: What is the clarification that he wants?

Shri Mahanty: The clarification I seek is: I would like to know why the Government have left the Assistant Secretary, as the Prime Minister has stated, untouched? Why were the recommendations not given full effect to when they were unanimously agreed recommendations.

The Minister of Finance (Shri Morarji Desai): May I say that this was also done in agreement with the Unit?

Shri Hem Barua: May I know whether the attention of our hon. Prime Minister has been drawn to a report appearing in the B.B.C. Weekly, *The Listener*, where an interview was granted to the B.B.C. by our High Commissioner in U.K. in which she has criticised our Constitution and has suggested that it needs to be amended. She has also criticised our civil servants and I quote her words: "They are doing their best, but it is a poor best," She has criticised our educational system and said—I quote her words: "There is neither English nor education at the moment in India." Then, she has criticised our educated people and said (Interruptions) I am quoting her words.....

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. Hon. Member is going off the mark. This occasion is for seeking a clarification arising out of a discussion here. If an hon. Member has raised a particular thing and the hon. Minister in his reply has not referred to it, he may say it has not been referred to. If the hon. Minister has not referred to it he can ask for a clarification. New matters

shall not be introduced here.

Shri Hem Barua: May I make a humble submission, Sir?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: If it is not incorrect for me to say so, the hon. Member wanted to raise this in the form of an adjournment motion. You were pleased to not to allow it. Now, it comes up in another form, as a clarification. I may add, since the hon. Member drew our attention to it by that motion, I read that article and found it excellent.⁶¹

206. To S. Dutt: Bhutan-China Border⁶²

The Lok Sabha Secretariat might be informed, for submission to Mr. Speaker, that I do not think it will be desirable for me to make any special statement or to answer a Short Notice Question in regard to Bhutan's frontier with China. As a matter of fact, the answer to the questions asked many be found in the recent White Paper No. 3 which has been placed before the House.⁶³ This contains references to Bhutan's border. I would not like to go more deeply into this matter at this stage as it involves two countries, namely Bhutan and China.

207. To S. Dutt: Reply to Chou En-lai⁶⁴

I do not think it is necessary for me to send a signed reply to this letter from Premier Chou En-lai.⁶⁵ Our Ambassador can convey our agreement with this date. Or you may send a brief message by telegram as follows to our Ambassador.

BEGINS. Please convey following message to Premier Chou En-lai from Prime Minister:

QUOTE. Thank you for your message of the 19th March.⁶⁶ The date you have suggested, that is, April 19th, for your arrival here will be convenient to us and we shall be glad to welcome you here then. With warm regards — Jawaharlal Nehru. **UNQUOTE**

61. For Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit's interview, see Appendix 25.

62. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 19 March 1960.

63. On 10 March.

64. Note to the FS, 19 March 1960.

65. See Appendix 42.

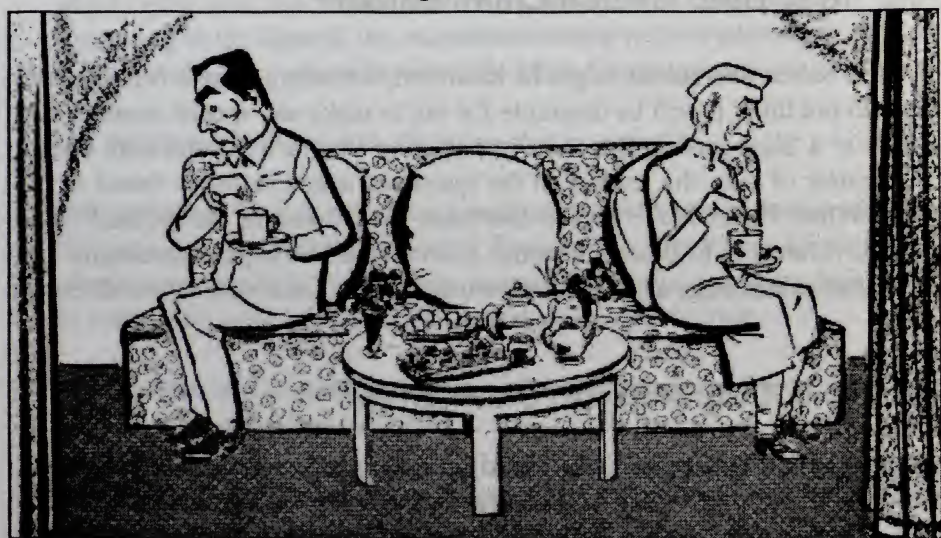
66. This letter is also published in the *White Paper* IV, p. 7.

As you know, Chou En-lai intends staying here till April 25th. This is rather longer than we expected. I suppose he intends staying in Delhi all this time. You might informally enquire if he wishes to go anywhere else round about Delhi during this period. ENDS⁶⁷

I do not think it is necessary for these actual letters to be sent to the press. You might inform the press day after tomorrow, 21st March that it has been agreed that Premier Chou En-lai will come to Delhi on the 19th April. For the present, we need not mention how long he will stay here.

[NEHRU-CHOU BACK TO BACK]

Nothing To Talk About



[Left: Chou En-lai and Nehru]

(From *Shankar's Weekly*, 6 March 1960, p. 7)

It may be that some announcement might be made in Peking about his arrival date even before we make it.

Perhaps it might be better for me to make this brief announcement in Parliament day after tomorrow and not give it to the press earlier.

67. Dutt further informed Parthasarathi: "We shall try to send an aircraft to Rangoon if this is required. There is no need for him to stop in Calcutta unless he arrives there rather late in the evening."

208. In the Lok Sabha: Chou En-lai's Visit⁶⁸

STATEMENT *RE.* CHINESE PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO INDIA

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): I have received a reply from the Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China about his coming here. The House may remember that I had suggested about the 20th April for his visit here. He has broadly accepted this date, that is, he has suggested coming here on the 19th April and to stay here till 25th April. I wanted to inform the House of this new development.

Shri Vajpayee: ⁶⁹May I know whether a copy of the letter will be placed on the Table of the House?

[BREATHING FIRE FOR PEACE] "PEACE MISSION"



(From *The Times of India*, 2 March 1960, p. 7)

68. Statement, 21 March 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XLI, cols 6986-6987.

69. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Jan Sangh, Lok Sabha MP from Balrampur, Uttar Pradesh.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is not usual to put every letter on the Table of the House. I have no objection, but I do not wish to introduce a practice that every letter that I get should be placed on the Table of the House.

Shri Rajendra Singh: It is so important.

Shri Vajpayee: After all, they are placed on the Table in the shape of a White Paper to be issued shortly, therefore, the letter may be placed on the Table of the House.

Shri S.M. Banerjee: It is still a Red Paper!

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am prepared to place this paper on the Table of the House on the understanding that such a demand will not be made in the future.⁷⁰

209. To S. Dutt: Minsar⁷¹

I agree that we should not write to the Chinese Government about Minsar at this stage. But in view of recent developments, I do not think it will be right for us to give up our right to Minsar in theory, even though de facto it is not exercised. When we discuss the general question of eastern Ladakh and Chinese incursions there, we should certainly mention Minsar and its past history. This is important in itself but much more so because it brings out more clearly India's claim to eastern Ladakh. If the J&K Government (that means India) had a treaty right to Minsar, there is some justification for stating that our territories extend to where we show them.

A separate paper might be kept dealing with Minsar for our talks with Premier Chou En-lai.⁷²

70. On 22 March, Nehru laid on the Table of the Lok Sabha Chou En-lai's letter of 19 March about his visit to Delhi from 19 to 25 April 1960, Appendix 42.

71. Note to the FS, 22 March 1960.

72. Nehru discussed Minsar with Chou En-lai on 22 April. See SWJN/SS/60.

(d) Tibet

210. In the Lok Sabha: Indo-Tibetan Trade⁷³

Question:⁷⁴ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No.354 on the 27th November, 1959 and state the position in regard to Indo-Tibetan Trade on the Kalimpong-Gangtok-Nathu La Pass-Yatung caravan route during the last three Months?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): There has been no improvement in the position as the following figures would show:

	Import	Export
	(Value in Lakhs of rupees)	
October, 1959	2.52	3.84
November, 1959	2.60	1.04
December, 1959	1.37	1.41

211. In the Lok Sabha: The Dalai Lama⁷⁵

Question:⁷⁶ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state the amount spent on Dalai Lama and his party for their maintenance in 1959 and for his tour programme in India during January-February, 1960?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): A sum of Rs. 4,41,151.46 (Rs. four lakhs forty-one thousand one hundred fifty one and nP 46) has been spent on the maintenance of the Dalai Lama and his party from April to December, 1959.

2. As regards the tour during the months of January-February, 1960, the actual expenditure is not yet known, as the bills from the State Governments

73. Written answers to questions, 14 March 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XL, col. 5654.

74. By Congress MPs D. C. Sharma and Rameshwar Tantia.

75. Written answers to questions, 14 march 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XL, cols 5668-5669.

76. By Congress MPs Raghunath Singh and Chintamoni Panigrahi; and Forward Bloc (Marxist) MP Aurobindo Ghosal.

and the Railway Board, who were requested to make the necessary arrangements have not yet been received. However, it is estimated that the expenditure on this account will be approximately Rs.40, 000 (Rupees forty thousand).

212. To S. Dutt: Making Tibetan Refugees Self-Reliant⁷⁷

I think that the points raised in the attached letter deserve early and sympathetic consideration.⁷⁸ We have to help in making these people adapt themselves to the Indian scene and become self-reliant. We must not merely, look upon them as unskilled labour—road making etc.

One of the first things to be done is to educate them in our languages.

I should like to send an answer to this letter after I get your comments.⁷⁹

213. In the Lok Sabha: Evacuation of Indian Kashmiri Traders from Tibet⁸⁰

Question:⁸¹ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 764 on the 10th December, 1959 and state:

(a) whether Government have received any reply from the Chinese Government regarding the evacuation of Indian Kashmiri traders from Tibet; and

(b) if so, the nature of the reply received?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) The reply may be seen at page 123 of *White Paper* No III which was laid on the Table of the House on the 10th March, 1960.

Shri Ram Krishan Gupta: In reply to a previous question, the hon. Deputy Minister stated that he had pointed out that under international usage persons

77. Note to FS, 17 March 1960. File No. 29 (78) BST/59, MEA.

78. For Freda Bedi's letter of 3 March, see Appendix 13(a).

79. See Appendix 13(b) for Dutt's comments on 28 March.

80. Oral answers to questions, 17 March 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XL, cols 6386-6389.

81. By Congress MPs Ram Krishan Gupta, Daljit Singh, Mafida Ahmed, S.A. Mehdi, Raghunath Singh, Arjun Singh Bhadauria; and GNP MP P.G. Deb.

of Indian origin found eligible both for Indian and Chinese nationality should be given the option of exercising their right to choose whatever nationality they prefer. May I know whether this suggestion has been accepted by the Chinese Government?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The Chinese Government have said that they proceed on the assumption that they are Chinese nationals and, therefore, they must renounce their Chinese nationality and then apply for new nationality. We do not think that is the correct position to take up because we do not acknowledge that they are Chinese nationals.

Shri A.C. Guha:⁸² May I know what has happened to the property that might have been left there or might have been acquired by these Indian traders there?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The persons referred to in this question are persons who are sitting there. They are there. This is a question of their coming away from there which is being impeded. So, the question of leaving property will only arise when they come away.

Shri Vajpayee: In view of the fact that the Chinese Government has rejected our claim in this regard, may I know what further steps Government propose to take? Will this question be discussed at the forthcoming meeting of the two Prime Ministers?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: In such matters the only steps that are taken are continued discussions at the diplomatic level. They have been carried on. As to whether this particular matter will come up in any talks with the Prime Minister of China when he comes here, I cannot definitely say how matters will take shape.

Shri Panigrahi: May I know whether Government is aware that many of these traders in Tibet have married Tibetan women? If so, do they propose to take their wives with them or do they propose to come alone?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: We are aware that many of them have married in Tibet. When the future of the husbands is not certain I cannot say definitely as to what will happen to their wives.

82. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Barasat, West Bengal.

Shri Hem Barua: May I know whether it is a fact that some of these Ladakhi traders in Tibet have both Indian passports and Chinese visas also? If so, what is standing in the way of their evacuation? What is the specific ground?

Mr. Speaker: If they have got Indian passports what is the difficulty in their evacuation?

Shri Hem Barua: Chinese visas also.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not say with regard to any particular individual; but generally, they did not take Indian passports because no question arose in those days of taking Indian passports. They have been living there for a considerable time. A few may have it.

Shri Hem Barua: In reply to a question on this subject on a previous occasion it was specifically said that there are some Ladakhi there in Tibet who have Indian passports and Chinese visas.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Their case is a different one. But we are talking about the Kashmiri Muslims in this question. They have been resident there, sometimes for a generation or two and have carried on without taking any passports. Now, they want Indian passports and we are prepared to give it to them. Hence the difficulty has arisen.

Shri P.G. Deb: What is the total number of these Kashmiri traders?

Shri Sadath Ali Khan: There are 124 families, consisting of 162 males, 184 females and 237 minors of both sexes. Each family should apply to the Indian Consul General at Lhasa for the grant of Indian nationality.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: May I know whether there our trade agents in Lhasa and elsewhere in Tibet are in a position to look after the facilities and welfare of the Indian traders and others in Tibet?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is difficult for me to answer about looking after their facilities. We are constantly trying to help them, sometimes succeeding and sometimes not succeeding.

Shri Hem Barua: May I know whether the security guards posted at the Consulate there have been withdrawn by now?

Mr. Speaker: It is a different question.

Shri Hem Barua: When the security guards are posted there the Consul-General cannot look after the interests of these people because they are not allowed to get in touch with the Consulate. If it is withdrawn, they can establish contact with the Consulate there and have their problems solved to a certain extent. That is why I put this question.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The answer I can give cannot be very precise. Sometimes they get in touch with them; but it is not always very easy to do so.

214. To S. Dutt: The Dalai Lama's Treasure⁸³

It is mentioned in this note that part of the Dalai Lama's treasure,⁸⁴ consisting of silver, has been sold for about Rs. 35 lakhs. It is not clear whether this money or part of it has been spent or it is still intact.

I do not particularly like the idea of the Dalai Lama's funds being put in some new private industrial enterprise. The money, if it is to be considered trust money, should be treated as trust funds are treated by us, so as to ensure its safety. This does not exclude investment in private concerns. But the rules governing trust funds have to be strictly applied to them. I think this should be our advice. It is, however, open to the Dalai Lama to invest it otherwise.

In any event, I think that the larger part of this money should be so invested in trust funds, whether they are Government securities or some other safety securities. In doing so, he will immediately begin to get interest even though this may be on a somewhat lower scale. By putting this money in a new enterprise he will not get any interest for some years though he might make greater profit later.

I do not think we should get entangled in any way with these deposits. Of course this money will be treated just like any other money. There is no question of showing special favour against our rules and regulations.

I think we should ask for full information about the disposal of Rs. 35 lakhs for which some of the silver was sold. Further, we should request that

83. Note to FS, 18 March 1960.

84. Estimated at eighty lakhs of rupees, the treasure consisted of gold, silver and other valuables, according to a reply given by Lakshmi Menon, the Deputy Minister in the MEA, on 4 March 1960 in the Lok Sabha.

we should be informed of any major expenditure out of this fund. I am particularly interested to know how much of the 35 lakhs has been spent already.⁸⁵

215. To Joint Secretary(E): Refugees from Missamari to Pathankot⁸⁶

I would submit to Mr. Speaker that these questions or questions in the normal way on this subject might be answered after some days to enable us to get full information on this subject. We have asked for this information.

Our present information is that 760 persons, including old men and old women and small children, travelled by special train from Missimari in Assam to Pathankot. The train arrived at Pathankot on the night of the 6th March. The party was accompanied from Missimari by the Camp Commandant and a police escort. At Pathankot it was met by an Additional Secretary in the Home Ministry. It was found then that four infants had died en route and that 19 male adults had left the train at various places of halt. The cause of death of the four infants is said to have been general debility. These children were recent arrivals from Tibet and had been ailing for some time.

This is the information we have received thus far, but we are enquiring further into this matter. Meanwhile, therefore, I would suggest that these Short Notice questions be not answered.⁸⁷

85. According to a *Times of India* report of 6 March 1960, the Dalai Lama had said in an interview on 5 March 1960 in Mussoorie that the treasure was sent to Sikkim in 1951, remained in the custody of the Sikkim Durbar, and was shifted to Calcutta in December 1959; that it belonged to him personally and would be utilised by him "in the best way possible" for his people; that his brother was responsible for the sale and investment of these items; and that "everything happens at my instance."

86. Note, 19 March 1960.

87. This issue was also raised by Atal Bihari Vajpayee in the Lok Sabha on 17 March during the debate on the demands for grants for the MEA.

216. To Freda M. Bedi: Dalai Lama to Move from Mussoorie to Dharamsala⁸⁸

22nd March, 1960

Dear Freda,⁸⁹

Your letter of the 19th March. The arguments advanced by the residents of Misamari Camp to you about the Dalai Lama staying on in Mussoorie are singularly feeble. If Mussoorie is known to the refugees now, Dharamsala will be equally known to them a little while later. So far as the climate is concerned, I imagine that Dharamsala's climate is better than Mussoorie's.

We have now to think in terms not of temporary residence anywhere, but more or less permanent residence. And this permanent place of residence has to be chosen from many points of view. Almost every approach to this question leads to the conclusion that Mussoorie is not suitable. It is a place where tourists and pleasure-seekers go for a short while. It has no individuality and it is no place for serious people to live for long. While it might be possible to get another house, other than Birla's, for the Dalai Lama, it is not possible to rehabilitate a considerable number of Lamas and other Tibetans there.

Dharamsala offers these facilities. It has a good climate and I think better than Mussoorie's. It has good accommodation and it can become a good centre of Tibetans where they can live their community life, follow their religious vocations and generally live as they want to. From the point of view of any kind of religious life, this place is of course far better than Mussoorie can ever be. It is slightly further away than Mussoorie, but that again depends upon where you start measuring from. It is easier of access from the Ladakh side which is likely to be another centre of Tibetan refugees.

I am quite sure that if the Tibetans have to settle down permanently and develop occupations etc., it is the Dharamsala region that offers them this opportunity and not Mussoorie. You might explain all this to your deputation people.

There is a chance of my going to Tezpur on April 15th to visit the new army accommodation that is being built there. I should like to visit the Misamari camp then and, if you like, meet a deputation too. If possible, I shall do it on the 15th or on the 16th morning.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

88. Letter. File No. 8/140/60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. Copied to FS.

89. A social worker; this letter was sent to her at the Tibetan Camp, Misamari, Assam.

217. In the Lok Sabha: Taxing the Dalai Lama's Treasure⁹⁰

TAX ON GOLD AND BULLION BROUGHT BY DALAI LAMA

Question: ⁹¹Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) how much tax was levied on the gold and bullion brought by Dalai Lama from Tibet to India; and
- (b) if not, the reasons therefore?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):
(a) and (b). Gold imported from Tibet is not liable to duty and as levy of duty on import of silver coins etc. has been temporarily waived in the case of bona fide Tibetan refugees coming into India, no duty was chargeable from the Dalai Lama.

218. In the Lok Sabha: Indian Traders in Tibet⁹²

तिब्बत में भारतीय व्यापारी

श्री भक्त दर्शन :⁹³ क्या प्रधानमंत्री 7 दिसम्बर, 1959 के अतारांकित प्रश्न संख्या 1043 के उत्तर के सम्बन्ध में यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या उत्तर प्रदेश के वे सब भारतीय व्यापारी जो 1959 के मौसम में तिब्बत गये थे वापस आ गये हैं :

(ख) यदि हाँ, तो उनकी कुल संख्या कितनी थी : और

(ग) वे किन-किन दरों से वापस आये और प्रत्येक दरों से कितने व्यक्ति वापस आये?

प्रधानमंत्री तथा वैदेशिक कार्यमंत्री (श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू) : (क) और (ख) 1959 में 1796 साधारण (कस्टमरी) और 1132 छोटे-मोटे (पैटी) व्यापारी लोग उत्तर प्रदेश से तिब्बत गये थे। इनमें से, तीन साधारण व्यापारियों को छोड़कर, जिनके बारे में यह खबर है कि वे प्राकृतिक कारणों से तिब्बत में मर गये, बाकी सभी भारत वापस आ गये हैं।

90. Written answers to questions, 25 March 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XLI, col. 8096.

91. By Congress MPs Arjun Singh Bhadauria, S. A. Mehdi; and MJP MP Indulal Yajnik.

92. Written answers to questions, 25 March 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XLI, col. 8093.

93. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Garhwal, Uttar Pradesh.

(ग) साधारण और छोटे-मोटे व्यापारियों तथा उन दरों की संख्या जिनसे होकर वे लोग वापस आए, इस प्रकार है :

दरों का नाम	व्यापारियों की संख्या
लिपु लेख दर्रा	640
लिम्पिया दर्रा	70
उन्ताधुरा दर्रा	925
दारमा दर्रा	524
माना दर्रा	77
निति दर्रा	682
झेलुखागा	7

	2925

[Translation begins:

Shri Bhakt Darshan:⁹⁴ In connection with the reply to the Unstarred Question No. 1043 dated 7 December 1959, will the Prime Minister be pleased to inform that:

- Have all those Indian traders from Uttar Pradesh, who had gone to Tibet in the season of 1959, have come back;
- If yes, what was their total number; and
- Through which passes did they return and how many returned through each pass?

The Prime Minister and Minister of the External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):
(a) and (b) In 1959, 1796 customary and 1132 petty traders went to Tibet from Uttar Pradesh. Of these, except three petty traders who died of natural causes in Tibet according to the information received here, all others have come back to India.

(d) The number of customary and petty traders and the passes through which they came, is as follows:

Name of the Pass	Number of Traders
Lipu Lekh Pass	640
Limpia Pass	70
Untadhura Pass	925

94. See fn 93 in this section.

Darma Pass	524
Mana Pass	77
Niti Pass	682
Jhelukhaga Pass	557

2925

Translation ends]

(e) Nepal

219. To Sri Krishna Sinha: Mahavir Jayanti at Vaishali⁹⁵

March 11, 1960

My dear Sri Babu,

I have your letter of March 8th about the celebration of the Mahavir Jayanti at Vaishali. I am afraid I cannot make a special request to the Prime Minister of Nepal to go to Vaishali to inaugurate this function. Visits of Prime Ministers are rather special occasions and involve all manner of considerations. Nepal is facing very difficult problems⁹⁶ and to ask the Prime Minister especially to come on a cultural occasion would not be very appropriate for me. It is true that B.P. Koirala is intimately connected with Bihar, but I have to treat him as the Prime Minister of a neighbouring country. If he wants to come, of course we shall not come in the way at all. But it would not be proper for me especially to write to him for this purpose.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

95. Letter to the Chief Minister of Bihar.

96. For the situation in Nepal at this time, see Karan Singh's note in Jawaid Alam (ed.), *Jammu and Kashmir 1949-64, Select Correspondence between Jawaharlal Nehru and Karan Singh* (New Delhi: Viking, Penguin 2006), pp. 268-276. Karan Singh was in Nepal from 25 March to 7 April 1960. See also Nehru's letters to B.P. Koirala of 31 March and of 13 April 1960 in SWJN/SS/59.

(f) Pakistan

220. In the Rajya Sabha: Evacuee Property in Pakistan⁹⁷**RELEASE OF PROPERTY OF THE SERVANTS OF THE PEOPLE SOCIETY
BY THE GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN**

- Shri Nawab Singh Chauhan:⁹⁸ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state;
- whether it is a fact that the Government of Pakistan have released the property of the "Servants of the People Society";
 - if the answer to part (a) above be in the affirmative, what is the value of the property; and
 - whether permission has been given for bringing it to India?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):

(a) No, Sir. The question does not arise. The Society owned "Lajpat Rai Bhawan" in Lahore and 515 acres of agricultural land in Chak Kartar Kot in Montgomery District. These properties were taken over by the Government of Pakistan under their Evacuee Property Law. Under the provisions of this Law, trust properties such as these remain vested in the Custodian of Evacuee Property till fresh trustees are appointed by the Government of Pakistan from among the members of the minority community to manage the properties. This has not as yet been done.

(b) We do not know the value.

(c) Does not arise.

221. To Ila Palchoudhuri: Berubari Transfer⁹⁹

March 17, 1960

Dear Ila,

Your letter of the 16th March about Berubari. The transfer of any territory to another country, and more especially Berubari, is important. At the same time we cannot break our word given to another Government and country. We

97. Written answers to questions, 8 March 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVIII, cols 3077-3079.

98. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Uttar Pradesh.

99. Letter to Ila Palchoudhuri, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Nabadwip, West Bengal.

naturally accept the decision of the Supreme Court. That relates to the procedures involved.¹⁰⁰ We are trying to see if any other way can be found.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

222. In the Lok Sabha : Demarcation of Indo-Pakistan Border¹⁰¹

Question:¹⁰² Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that the border between India and East Pakistan has since been demarcated according to the latest agreement between the Governments of two countries; and
- (b) if so, the details thereof?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri J.N. Hazarika): (a) and (b). Progress of demarcation in accordance with the decisions of the Indo-East Pakistan Border Conference of October, 1959 is set out in the statement placed on the Table of the House.

STATEMENT

At the Indo-East Pakistan Border Conference of October, 1959, the Governments of India and Pakistan agreed that the boundary should be demarcated as early as administratively possible.

2. While the two Governments reaffirmed their determination to implement the Nehru-Noon agreement in full, it was agreed that all preliminary work short of actual work in the field should be undertaken by both sides so that demarcation to implement the Nehru-Noon Agreement could be carried out expeditiously as soon as the requisite legal procedures were devised. Work preliminary to ground demarcation has been in progress in respect of the areas in question. The Supreme Court of India delivered its opinion on March 14,

100. See item 2 fn 15.

101. Oral answers to questions, 22 March 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XLI, cols 7173-7177.

102. By Independent MP S.M. Banerjee; Congress MPs Rameshwar Tantia, Mohan Swarup and P.C. Borooah.

1960, on the legal procedures necessary to implement some of the clauses of the Nehru-Noon Agreement.

3. At the Indo-East Pakistan Border Conference of October, 1959, the disputes relating to the Patharia Forest, the Kushiya villages and Tugergram were settled. The Directors of Land Records & Surveys, Assam and East Pakistan have drawn up a programme for completing demarcation in these areas by the end of May, 1960. Actual work is progressing satisfactorily. The Conference also settled the disputes relating to the West Bengal-East Pakistan boundary along the Mahananda, Barung and Karatoa rivers. The Directors of Land Records and Surveys, West Bengal and East Pakistan, have drawn up a programme for demarcation in these areas.

4 The overall position as regards demarcation of the Indo-East Pakistan boundary upto 31-1-1960 is as follows:-

Sector	Total	Length of the boundary (miles)	
		Demarcation completed	Yet to be completed
West Bengal —			
East Pakistan	1350		
(-)	78	(fluid boundary)	
	1272	1090	182
Assam—East Pakistan	620	294	326
Tripura—East Pakistan	522	135	387
	2492		
(-)	78		
	2414	1519	895

Shri S.M. Banerjee: From the statement it is found that at the Indo-East Pakistan Border Conference of October, 1959, the disputes relating to the Patharia Forest and Tugergram were settled. May I know whether the hon. Prime Minister is aware that about the five villages there is a case going on in the Supreme Court and, if so, whether action is going to be taken despite the fact that the case is in the Supreme Court?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): In Patharia Forest no final demarcation had been agreed at that Conference. Certain principles had been laid down in regard to those five villages. Actual demarcation according to those principles has not yet taken place. They are still talking to each other. So I cannot say even in regard to that matter whether in the actual demarcation there will be five or four villages or three or two villages. I cannot say that definitely. But obviously whatever future steps we may have to take in regard to any change in the borders they have to keep in line with the advice of the Supreme Court. I cannot say where that advice fits in. But we cannot ignore that advice and we do not wish to ignore it, of course.

Shri P.C. Borooah: May I know if it is a fact that the joint conference that was due to be held at Dacca in February, 1960 between the Indian and Pakistani officials did not take place and, if so, the reasons thereof?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not quite remember about the joint conference. I have no recollection about it.

Shri S.M. Banerjee: Since it is stated that the Supreme Court of India delivered its opinion on the 14th March, 1960 and it has raised a constitutional point, may I know whether it is a fact that the Chief Minister of West Bengal met the hon. Prime Minister and expressed his opinion about it? If so, may I know the reaction of the hon. Prime Minister and whether he had any talk with him?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have frequently talks with the Chief Minister and there was some brief reference. I do not think I had any particular talks because there was nothing to talk about. Obviously when the Supreme Court gives an opinion that opinion is a firm opinion for us. There the matter ends. What other talk could we have?

Shri Hem Barua: May I know whether it is a fact that the demarcation of the Indo-Pak border is done according to the Radcliffe Award and, if so, whether the legal procedure suggested in the judgement of the Supreme Court on Berubari Union is going to affect the interpretation that the two countries have put on the Radcliffe Award?

Mr Speaker: The award is final.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The Supreme Court was requested by us to give us

their advice as to what should be done in regard to procedures to be followed. They have given their advice that the procedure should be a formal amendment of the Constitution. They have not gone into the merits, naturally, but into the procedures. We have to follow that procedure wherever that point arises.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: May we take it that the Government are going to get the Constitution amended as advised by the Supreme Court?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: What more can I say? We shall follow the Supreme Court's advice wherever it applies fully.

Shri Amjad Ali:¹⁰³ May I know whether before the finality of the matter the West Bengal Assembly shall be taken into confidence and whether its wishes shall be respected?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Everything is taken into consideration.

Shri Yadav Narayan Jadhav:¹⁰⁴ May I know whether the fluid boundary of 78 miles in the West Bengal sector will be finalised soon?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Which boundary?

Shri Yadav Narayan Jadhav: Some 78 miles have been shown as fluid boundary in the statement.

Mr. Speaker: Apart from these villages?

Shri Yadav Narayan Jadhav: 78 miles.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: In the statement we have given about the fluid boundary.

Mr. Speaker: He wants to know what exactly the boundary is.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It has been or will be demarcated in accordance with the agreement. It depends on the change of rivers and all that.

103. PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Dhubri, Assam.

104. PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Malegaon, Bombay.

(g) Burma and Thailand

223. To M.J. Desai: U Nu in Calcutta¹⁰⁵

I do not understand why our Ambassador in Rangoon¹⁰⁶ attaches so much importance to U Nu's visit¹⁰⁷ in Calcutta being extended.¹⁰⁸ The Governor's invitation to him to stay on for another day was natural and had no political significance. Nor did it require my previous approval.

2. As a matter of fact, U Nu did not meet Mr. Khrushchev at all except at dinner time last night. I also saw him for the first time then. After dinner, Mr. Khrushchev, U Nu and I sat for a while and had rather a casual talk about old times. We sat in the main hall, and other guests were present in other parts of the hall. This morning U Nu came to the Dum Dum airport to see Mr. Khrushchev and party off. There was absolutely no political significance about these meetings or talks.

3. As U Nu's programme has been delayed by one day, he is now likely to reach here on the 6th March.

224. To M.J. Desai: Registering Indians in Burma¹⁰⁹

This evening Shri V.H. David, General Secretary of the All Burma Tamilian Association, came to see me. He gave me the attached memorandum and papers and he spoke to me on the lines of his note.

He told me that hundreds of Indians are in prison in Burma for failure to pay the Rs. 50/- registration fee. The Indian Ambassador says that they are not his responsibility and nobody cares for them. The Burmese Government says that if they cannot pay this fee, they should go back to India. This is unfortunate and something should be done about this matter. I know that our Ambassador has pointed out to the Burmese Government that Rs.50/- fee is too much for many people.

105. Note to CS, 2 March 1960.

106. Lalji Mehrotra.

107. U Nu was on a 12-day private tour of India beginning 1 March 1960. After meeting Nehru and Khrushchev on 1 March, he planned to visit holy places, including Bodh Gaya.

108. See Appendix 9.

109. Note to CS, 19 March 1960.

Do we have proper records of Indian nationals in foreign countries or do we merely leave it to them to register their names at our Embassies or not? I think we should keep as full records as possible. Of course, in places like Burma, a person's nationality might sometimes be doubtful. But, apart from doubtful cases, we should have full records.

In the attached paper, it is said that every Indian born in Burma is considered by us as an alien merely by the fact of his birth there. This does not seem to me quite correct.

The points raised in the letter enclosed deserve attention.

225. To M.J. Desai: Military Training for Thai Officers¹¹⁰

I have no objection to this. One place may be made available to the Thais.¹¹¹

(h) Ceylon

226. To M.J. Desai: Congratulations to Dudley Senanayake¹¹²

You might send the following telegram to our High Commissioner at Colombo:

"Please convey following personal message to Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake:

BEGINS: Thank You for your message of 23rd March. Please accept on behalf of my colleagues and on my own behalf our warm congratulations on your assumptions of the high office of Prime Minister of Ceylon.¹¹³ I look forward to maintaining and strengthening the close and friendly relations which have existed between our countries and our cooperating with each other in the pursuit of our common objective of the maintenance of peace in South East Asia and the world.

110. Note to CS, 21 March 1960. File No. 1402(13)-SD/60, MEA.

111. See Appendices 43(a) and 43(b).

112. Note to CS conveying message for the Ceylon Prime Minister, 24 March 1960. Published in the newspapers on 29 March 1960.

113. Dudley Senanayake became Prime Minister on 21 March 1960.

I hope to meet you in London at the meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers in May.

Jawaharlal Nehru. ENDS."

(i) UK

227. To N.R. Pillai: Tour Programme¹¹⁴

As you have said, there will probably be a change in this programme¹¹⁵ because of Princess Margaret's wedding.

Two days have been given for Chequers. Usually when I have gone there, I have only spent one day and a night. If Mr. Macmillan specially desires me to stay there two days, I shall do so.

There are two engagements which I should like to be included. One is a visit to Broadlands and the other is a possible visit to Oxford. If I stay only one day at Chequers, I might proceed from there to Broadlands for Sunday, though perhaps this might not be very easy as I have to be back for Monday morning. The only other possible date is the week-end from Friday, 13th May. I should like to spend a clear day there and possibly two nights.

As for Oxford, I have half promised the Oxford Union Society to go there. As far as I can see, the only possibility will be the weekend in the middle of May. Perhaps Broadlands and Oxford could be both fixed for that weekend.

There has been some talk about my going to Paris for a day to meet President de Gaulle. Because of the Summit Conference, this will be difficult to fix up. I am not particularly anxious to go to Paris. It was suggested at one time, rather vaguely, that I could go for a short time even while the Prime Ministers' Commonwealth Conference is meeting. Nothing need be done about this at present.¹¹⁶ But I am merely mentioning this.

Usually each Prime Minister has to call on the Queen. I suppose this will be fixed some time or other.

114. Note to SG, 12 March 1960.

115 Regarding Nehru's visit to the UK to attend the Prime Ministers' Commonwealth Conference in May 1960. See SWJN/SS/60.

116. They met on 8 May 1960. See SWJN/SS/60.

228. To MEA : Paris Visit in May¹¹⁷

I had a telephone message from Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit from London today. She spoke to me chiefly about my programme in London. The Queen's Heron aircraft is likely to be placed at my disposal to go to Paris.

2. I intend going to Paris on Sunday, 8th May from London, probably reaching there just before lunch. I think I shall stay there that day and night and return to London early on Monday morning.

3. You may inform the French Ambassador¹¹⁸ here that I hope to be able to go to Paris on the 8th May from London reaching there about lunch time and staying the rest of the day. I hope it will be convenient to President de Gaulle to see me that afternoon or any other time that day.

4. You might send a brief telegram to our Ambassador in Paris¹¹⁹ to the same effect.

(j) France

229. To MEA: UN Debate on French Nuclear Test¹²⁰

I suppose we have to support this move for a special session of the General Assembly to consider the French nuclear test.¹²¹ We may either agree to be one of the signatories of the request or concur in it.

117. Note to N.R. Pillai, S. Dutt and M.J. Desai, 22 March 1960.

118. Stanislas Ostrorog.

119. N. Raghavan.

120. Note to N.R. Pillai, S. Dutt and B.N. Chakravarty, 12 March 1960. File No. 5(25)-UN-II/59, MEA.

121. On 13 February and 1 April 1960 in Sahara; twenty-five Asian-African States plus Cuba were preparing a draft letter requesting the UN Secretary General to convene a special session of the UN General Assembly for considering the French nuclear tests in the Sahara; they expected concurrence of the Soviet Group countries and Yugoslavia and Venezuela.

230. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Visit to Paris in May¹²²

March 17, 1960

[My dear High Commissioner,]

The French Ambassador called on me a little while ago and conveyed an invitation from General de Gaulle for me to visit Paris. I was told that the General would very much like to have a talk with me. Realising that I would be busy in London for most of the time I shall be there and the Summit Conference coming soon after, he suggested a brief visit from London, that is, in the course of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, just for a meal and a talk.

I told the Ambassador that I would be very glad to meet the General and have a talk with him. But it was rather difficult for me to fix any time as I didn't have with me my London programme. The most convenient time for me to visit Paris would, of course, be after the London conference is over and on my way back to India. But probably that would be too near the Summit. Anyhow, I told him that I shall consult our people in London and find out a feasible date.

The position, therefore, is that I have accepted in principle the invitation to go to Paris to meet de Gaulle. But the date has been left to be fixed later.

You sent me some kind of a tentative programme for my visit to London. I haven't got it with me at present. It seems to me that the best way to go to Paris would be after lunch. I can spend the evening there at an informal dinner with de Gaulle and come back to London early the next morning. If I go to Paris for lunch, that would mean the whole day being taken up by it.

Will you please have a look at my present tentative programme in London and suggest a suitable time for the visit to Paris? Probably the normal air services will not be suitable and I am not going in our special plane to London. It might be possible to engage a small plane to take me to Paris and bring me back the next morning.

I have promised to give a more definite reply to the French Ambassador within a few days. You might, therefore, send me a telegram suggesting the suitable time.

You will remember that I am supposed to go to Chequers for a week-end on May 7th or 8th. Would it be possible for me to go to Chequers on the 7th, spend the night there, and come away on the 8th, Sunday, morning? Thereafter I could go to Paris the same day. I could either go in the forenoon and have lunch with de Gaulle and come back in the evening of the same day or go in the afternoon and return the next morning. I suppose part of the day and night at

122. Letter.

Chequers would be adequate and there is no need for me to stay there for two nights. I am, however, leaving this matter to you.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Raghavan in Paris to keep him informed.

[Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

231. To N. Raghavan: Accepting de Gaulle's Invitation¹²³

March 17, 1960

My dear Raghavan,

I enclose a copy of a letter I am writing to Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit. As soon as I hear from her, I shall inform you of any decision about the date that might be taken. I shall also inform the French Ambassador here. Meanwhile, if you are asked by the French Government people, you can say that I am grateful for the invitation from President de Gaulle and I hope to take advantage of it. But I am not sure about the date yet. You need not say anything to the Press at this stage.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

232. In the Lok Sabha: European Visit Agenda¹²⁴

Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference

Question:¹²⁵ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether he is attending the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference and if so, when;
- (b) whether he is also visiting certain European countries:
- (c) if so, which are they; and
- (d) which of the African countries he is visiting on his way back to India?

123. Letter to the Indian Ambassador to France.

124. Oral answers to questions, 22 March 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol XLI, cols 7192-7195.

125. By Congress MPs Ram Krishan Gupta, J.B.S. Bisht, Rameshwar Tantia; PSP MP Hem Barua, and Independent MP S.M. Banerjee.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan): (a) Yes. The Conference is due to commence on the 3rd May 1960.

(b) to (d). The Prime Minister has no plans to visit any other country in the course of his journey to or from the United Kingdom.

Shri Ram Krishan Gupta: May I know whether it is a fact that the hon. Prime Minister has received an invitation recently from the Prime Minister of France?

Shri Raghunath Singh: President of France, not Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): I have received an informal message to the effect that the President of France would be pleased if I could visit Paris for a talk, in the course of my stay in the United Kingdom, and I have replied that I would most gladly welcome this opportunity, if it could be fixed up and arranged, in view of numerous engagements in London during that period.

Shri Hem Barua: May I know whether it is a fact that discussions on disarmament as also on the summit conference are going to dominate the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London, and if so, whether our Government propose to make any specific suggestions on this issue for discussion at the conference, and if so, what they are?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is an astounding question. The position of India in regard to disarmament is very well known. We are in favour of it to the largest extent possible. The detailed working out of it depends so much on the agreement of the principal Powers concerned that India does not wish to come in the way of any agreement that they can arrive at. We can offer suggestions. We have offered suggestions in the United Nations, which are well known.

Shri Chintamani Panigrahi: It has been published in some papers in Pakistan that the President of Pakistan will discuss the question of the canal water dispute with the Prime Minister during his stay in London. How far is this true, and is there any formal or informal agenda to the effect?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: That arose a little while ago in another connection. I really do not know what I can take up and what I cannot take up. It depends on many factors. If I have the advantage of meeting President de Gaulle, I do not

go with any agenda; I do not go with any demands, to make on him; I go to discuss, to have a talk with him, about current matters. What will come in the course of talk, I cannot say at the present moment.

Shri Tyagi: For how long will the Prime Minister be away from India?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Normally, this conference lasts in London for about two weeks, and probably, I shall come back at the end of that period. It is not my present intention to visit any other country, but I do not rule out the possibility of stopping en route somewhere.

Shri Raghunath Singh: At present India is the second nation in the Commonwealth as far as shipping goes; and it is being hardly competed by the English lines. May I know whether this question will be taken up in the Commonwealth Conference that English shipping will not try to obstruct Indian lines?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am almost sure that this will not be taken up.

Shri Hem Barua: The hon. Prime Minister just now said that when he visits Paris current matters might be discussed with Gen. de Gaulle. May I know whether the current matters would include the French atomic test in the Sahara and the infringement of the U.N. resolution and something about the resolution that is pending in the U.N.O.?

Mr. Speaker: All hon. Members may pass on suggestions to the hon. Prime Minister as to what he ought to do.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Certainly, these suggestions, if I may say so with all respect, of hon. Members will not carry us very far, because these talks are not talks about specific issues and demands. The whole nature of the talks disappears when one goes to discuss particular issues like this—and demands and other things. That is not the way we have normal talks on such occasions.

Shri Hem Barua: If this test in Sahara is not a current matter to be discussed with Gen. de Gaulle?

Raja Mahendra Pratap: Will the hon. Prime Minister bring up the question of World Government at the Conference? That will settle all questions of the Commonwealth.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: That too is very unlikely, Sir.

(k) East Germany

233. To Humayun Kabir: Academic Ties with East Germany¹²⁶

March 17, 1960

My dear Humayun,

The Delegation of Educationists from the German Democratic Republic¹²⁷ came to see me this morning. They gave me an old book in German published in 1816 about Sanskrit grammar and speech. Also a number of German water-colour prints and two medallions one in commemoration of Humbolt¹²⁸ and the other of Max Planck. I am sending you all these articles so that you can have them kept in an appropriate place.

This East German Delegation are evidently very anxious to have some kind of a Scientific and Cultural agreement with us and they told me that they had given your Ministry a draft.¹²⁹ I think that we should go slow on these agreements. We are always prepared to have cultural and scientific contacts with other countries, but I have a feeling that the East German Government is trying to hustle us in order to attain some political results. They would very much like India to have diplomatic relations with East Germany. We have avoided this for a number of reasons which hold good still. But we have trade contacts, etc. It may be that some time later other political developments might take place. In the near future, however, we do not intend to take any political step involving formal relations with East Germany. Any such step would bring many

126. Letter. Humayun Kabir Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

127. The delegation was in India from 13 March to 12 April 1960.

128. Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859).

129. V.H. Coelho, JS, MEA, had written in a note to S. Dutt on 15 March that the draft agreements, given to the Secretary of the Ministry of SR & CA, proposed to cover (1) cultural and scientific cooperation between the two Governments; (2) exchange of students, post-graduates and scientists for purposes of studying and teaching; (3) vocational training of Indians in factories and institutions in the GDR; (4) an agreement between the German Academy of Sciences, Berlin, and the CSIR on scientific cooperation.

complications in its train. We do not want any such thing to happen when attempts are being made at the Summit Conference and the like for a solution of the German problem.¹³⁰

I told this delegation that we are always willing for cultural and scientific contacts with every country and so also with them. This business of formal agreements is rather complicated, but even apart from agreements, we could have arrangements for exchanging scholars or teachers for specific purposes. That is how we are functioning in regard to many other countries.

I am writing to you especially so that you might keep this aspect in mind. We shall not allow ourselves to be hustled into signing an agreement even in regard to cultural or scientific affairs.¹³¹

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

234. Informal Cultural Ties with East Germany¹³²

I do not think it is necessary or desirable to make a statement on this subject. As has been mentioned, a motion for adjournment on the same subject was not allowed by Mr. Speaker.

2. The Minister might, therefore, inform the Lok Sabha Secretariat that he regrets he is unable to make any statement on this subject. It is not a question of urgent public importance. But, for the information of Mr. Speaker, it might be pointed out that there has been no actual rejection of the proposal made by the East German Government for a cultural pact with India. In view, however, of the fact that India has not given diplomatic recognition to East Germany, any cultural pact involves certain difficulties. Actual cooperation in the field of science, technology or culture can be developed without any formal agreement. In fact, some such developments have already taken place between India and East Germany.

130. See Appendix 33(a).

131. For Kabir's reply of the same day, see Appendix 33(b).

132. Note, 19 March 1960.

(I) Khrushchev's Visit

235. In Calcutta: Civic Reception to Nikita S. Khrushchev¹³³

मेयर साहब,¹³⁴ प्रधानमन्त्री महोदय, साथियों और मित्रो, थोड़े दिन हुए, दो सप्ताह हुए, सोवियत रूस के प्रधानमन्त्री दिल्ली आये थे और यहाँ दो-तीन दिन रहकर वो इंडोनेशिया गये थे। बहुत कम दिन वो रहे यहाँ। एक तरह से सफ़र में, दूसरे सफ़र में यहाँ रुके थे। फिर भी उनके आने से यहाँ हमें खुशी हुई, लम्बे सफ़र में एक मित्र के घर ठहरे कुछ आराम करने को और कुछ बातचीत भी करने को, सलाह-मशवरे से। तो अब ये तो वापस जा रहे हैं और कल सवेरे ये हमारे देश से विदाई लेंगे। तो मैं इसलिए देहली से आज यहाँ आया कि फिर से मैं लाभ उठाऊँ उनसे मिलने का और उनसे रुखसत होने का।¹³⁵

श्री खुश्चेव, इन पिछले बरसों में उन्होंने अपने देश में और दुनिया में बहुत कुछ किया, लेकिन सबसे बड़ी बात जो आपके और हमारे दिलों में है वो यह है कि जिस तरह से इन्होंने अमन का झंडा शान्ति के पथ पर ले चले और जहाँ-जहाँ यह बोले और जो-जो इन्होंने काम किए। वो इसी बात पर है कि दुनिया में शान्ति हो और यह जो बड़े हथियार हैं, यह हथियार अब गाड़ दिये जायें, डिसआर्मामेंट हो। और इस तरह से कि सारी दुनिया की शक्ति शान्ति के कामों में जाये। तो यह तो एक ऐसी बात है आप जानते हैं जिसमें हमारे देश की जनता को विशेषकर दिलचस्पी है, यों भी है हमारे खून में आज नहीं हज़ारों बरसों से शान्ति का प्रेम है। चाहे आप सम्राट अशोक के समय को देखें जिसने लड़ाई को त्याग दिया जीत के समय भी, और या हज़ारों, दो हज़ार बरस बाद गाँधीजी के समय आयें, गाँधी युग में, तो भारत के तो मैंने कहा मन में, शरीरों में, खून में यह बात है। इसके माने नहीं हैं आप और हम बड़े आदमी हैं। हम लोग जो कुछ हैं बड़े या छोटे लेकिन कम से कम हमारी पुरानी कहानी के तरफ़ हमें खींचती है और पुरानी कहानी के अलावा आजकल का ज़माना। आजकल के ज़माने में हम जानते हैं कि कोई असल में दुनिया के सामने दो रास्ते नहीं हैं। बहस कितनी ही लम्बी करें एक ही रास्ता है वो अमन का, शान्ति का। दूसरा रास्ता है तबाही का दुनिया की। तो उसमें फिर हमें झिझक क्या? रुकावट क्या? कि किस रास्ते से चलें? कमी है ये। दुनिया के जितने बड़े नेता हैं, सब जानते हैं कि एक ही रास्ता रह गया है वह शान्ति का और यह लड़ाई और जंग को ख़त्म करना है और यह जो आजकल भयानक बड़े हथियार हैं उनका बनाना रोक देना है।

सब जानते हैं और आम जनता तो सभी जगह इस बात को स्वीकार करती है और शान्ति की तरफ़ झुकती है वो। लेकिन फिर अजीब बात यह है कि रुकावटें उठती हैं, बहस उठती है।

133. Speech at the Eden Gardens, Calcutta, 1 March 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

134. B.K. Banerjee.

135. Khrushchev arrived in Delhi on 11 February; see SWJN/SS/57/items 191 and 197, and items 189-205.

और बड़े-बड़े लोग मेज़ के चारों तरफ बैठकर महीनों, बरसों तक बातें करते हैं और उसका कोई बड़ा नतीजा एकदम से नहीं निकलता। हाँ, यह सही है कि अब कुछ नतीजे निकलने लगे हैं, क्योंकि दबाव है, वाक़ियात का दबाव है, जनता की इच्छाओं का दबाव है, दुनिया की पुकार है। तो सब एक तरफ़ दुनिया को ले जा रहे हैं लेकिन फिर भी दिलों में डर है देशों के लोगों में। जो गवर्नमेंट में लोग अलग-अलग देशों के, एक-दूसरे का डर है, कि अगर हम ज़रा ढील दें तो दूसरा देश हमारे लिये क्या कर दे? मैं आपसे कहूँ कि डर और भय से ज़्यादा और कोई बुरा साथी नहीं होता किसी भी देश का। जो देश डर से काम करता है वो काम पक्का नहीं होता। वो गुलत होता है और डर सबसे अधिक दुर्बल करता है मनुष्य को।

अब देशों की शक्ति है हथियारों की और बातों की होती है। कोई अधिक शक्तिशाली होते हैं, कोई कम। लेकिन सबसे बड़ी शक्ति फिर भी लोगों के दिल की होती है। अपने निडर होने की होती है और जब दिल में डर आ जाये किसी देश के, तो उसके हाथ में कोई शस्त्र भी पक्का नहीं होता है। तो आजकल दुनिया में कुछ ऐसा एक-दूसरे का डर छाया है कि उससे बड़ा क़दम उठाने में झिझकते हैं। लेकिन फिर भी मैं समझता हूँ कि सारी दुनिया में इतनी बड़ी माँग है शान्ति की, अमन की, कि कभी-कभी वो क़दम उठेगा इस काम में। हमारे प्रधानमंत्री जी, जो सोवियत रूस से आये हैं वो एक अगुआ बनेंगे। और आगे बढ़कर जहाँ-जहाँ वो जाते हैं जनता को याद दिलाते हैं। यों भी उनका हम आदर करते, उनके देश का आदर करते, उनके देश में जो बड़े-बड़े काम हुए उनको हमने देखा। बड़ी क्रान्ति हुई, उसको समझने की कोशिश की। तो आदर तो हम उनका हर सूरत से करते और प्रेम से करते हैं, लेकिन आजकल के ज़माने में वो आदर और प्रेम और भी हो गया क्योंकि उसके साथ उन्होंने ऐसी बातें कहीं, यही शान्ति के बारे में। जिन्होंने भारत के हर व्यक्ति के दिल में जगह पायी। क्योंकि हमारी क़ौम में बहुत कुछ ऐब हैं, हमारी जाति में भारत की, हमसे बहुत गुलतियाँ होती हैं और होंगी। लेकिन मुझे कोई शक नहीं कि भारत की जनता शान्तिप्रिय है और रहेगी। और दूसरी तरह से आप देखें कि इस समय हमारी सारी शक्ति किस तरफ़ लगी है, किस तरफ़ लगनी चाहिए, देश को उठाने की तरफ़, जनता को उठाने की तरफ़। किसी तरह से देश के दुःख दरिद्रता को दूर करना, बड़ा प्रश्न है। लेकिन इसके बग़ैर, उस प्रश्न का जवाब ढूँढ़ने के बग़ैर देश आगे नहीं बढ़ता। देश बढ़ रहा है, लेकिन हम चाहते हैं कि और तेज़ी से बढ़े।

अभी श्री खुश्चेव ने अपने जवाब में चर्चा किया— हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजना का, प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना, दूसरी योजना, तीसरी का भी कहा कि उसका आजकल [...] हम उस पर बहुत ध्यान दे रहे हैं और एक साल भर बाद उसका भी समय आयेगा। यह पंचवर्षीय योजना कोई एक किताब थोड़े ही है। किताब में नक्शा आप देख लें। पंचवर्षीय योजना एक कहानी है। एक कहानी है चालीस करोड़ आदमियों की यात्रा की, चालीस करोड़ आदमियों के जीवन की। तो आप इन बातों को इस तरह से देखें कि आजकल भारत के सामने कोई डिबेट नहीं है, बहस नहीं है, बल्कि यह बड़ी यात्रा है। किस तरह की जाये? किस तरह से हम जो एक किसी क़दर बहुत लोग गड़बड़े में पड़े हैं उनको निकालें और नये दुनिया में इस देश को लायें। नयी दुनिया के मेरे माने नहीं हैं कि पुरानी दुनिया को हम भूल जायें, तो हम अपने सारे देश को पुराने ज़माने को भूल जाते हैं तो हमारा देश बेजान हो जाता है। हम अपनी जड़ों को खोद डालें तो फूल पत्तियाँ

कैसे निकलें। जड़, हर जाति की, हर देश की जड़ मज़बूत होनी चाहिए। आखिर आप और हम क्या हैं? हम कोई एकदम से नये तो नहीं पैदा हो गये, हज़ारों बरस, हज़ारों बरस के ढाले हुए हैं, हज़ारों बरस के बने हुए हैं हम, सारा हमारा इतिहास अच्छा बुरा, ऊँच-नीच सब उसका कहीं न कहीं निशान हमारे मन में, हृदय में, शरीर में है। कैसे हम उसे भूल जाएँ, क्यों भूलें उसे? हाँ, लेकिन उसी के साथ हज़ारों वर्षों का गर्दा भी जमा हो जाता है, ग़लत बातें भी आ जाती हैं, उसको हमें हटाना है साफ़ करना है और नयी दुनिया में नये होकर रहना है। जड़ें पुरानी और फूल पत्तियाँ नयी, ये करना है आजकल की दुनिया का, जिस पर हमारे माननीय अतिथि ने जिक्र किया। आजकल की दुनिया विज्ञान की, और विज्ञान के जो बच्चे हैं उनकी है। उसी से शक्ति आती है, उसी से देश बढ़ते हैं। बात सही है, लेकिन उसके पीछे, जिस आदमी के हाथ में शक्ति है वो कैसा है। आखिर में मशीन को मनुष्य चलाता है, आजकल की दुनिया मशीन की है और हम मशीन चाहते हैं अपने देश में बड़ी छोटी हर तरह की, उसके बग़ैर काम नहीं होगा, लेकिन मशीन के चलाने वाला मनुष्य आ जाता है। मनुष्य कैसा है? वो अपनी मशीन को, अपने हथियार को सही चलाता है या ग़लत चलाता है। और जो उसके हृदय पर आ जाता है, उसके चरित्र पर आ जाता है। ग़लत चरित्र है तो अच्छी चीज़ को बुरा कर सकता है, अच्छा चरित्र है तो बुरी चीज़ को अच्छा कर देगा।

तो ये बड़े-बड़े प्रश्न हमारे सामने आ जाते हैं और हर देश के सामने आते हैं। और हर देश को चाहिए कि दुनिया के अभ्यास से लाभ उठाये। दुनिया से मित्रता करे और देशों से सीखे। और देश हैं, महान देश सोवियत रूस है, कितनी बात वहाँ हुई है जिससे हम बहुत सीख सकते हैं। हमें सीखना चाहिए और हम सीख रहे हैं और देशों में भी बड़ी-बड़ी बातें हुई क्योंकि विज्ञान तो किसी एक जाति का कोष नहीं है वह तो दुनिया का है। विज्ञान बढ़ता है तो सब देशों का उसमें हिस्सा होता जाता है। यह कोई वो नहीं है जैसे कोई दुकानदार उसका कॉपीराइट लेकर दबा ले कि हमारा ही है कोई और नहीं ले सकता, पेटेन्ट करा दे। ये दुनिया का है, जिसमें [...] मन समझने का हो उसे।

तो हमें सोवियत रूस से और, और देशों से बहुत सीखना है, हर बात। क्योंकि एक जानदार कौम थी वो, उसके बड़े-बड़े कदम उठे और बड़ी सफलता पायी उसमें। बहुत बातें वहाँ हमारे जैसे प्रश्न थे, बहुत बातें उनके अलग प्रश्न थे। क्योंकि देशों में हमेशा अलग-अलग हालत होती है और आज कोई भी देश, अगर खाली किसी दूसरे देश की नक़ल करना चाहे तो नक़ल करना, सीखना उससे ठीक है, नक़ली आदमी अच्छे नहीं होते। चाहे आप अपने पड़ोसी की नक़ल करें, चाहे आप पड़ोसी देश की करें कुछ, क्योंकि नक़ल में जान नहीं होती। एक साया होता है दूसरे का। अगर कोई देश बढ़ता है तो अपनापन छोड़कर नहीं। मैं कहीं जाऊँ और समझूँ कि जैसे पुराने ज़माने में आपको याद होगा कलकत्ते में क्या और दिल्ली में क्या और बम्बई में क्या, अबकी बात मैं नहीं कहता, अपनी जवानी के ज़माने का कहता हूँ, हमारे कुछ लोग बहुत चाहते थे कि वो यूरोप की नक़ल करें, वो अंग्रेज़ की नक़ल करें, उसके वस्त्र में, पोशाक में, बोली में, चाल में, चलन में, हर बात में, कि वो भी एक नक़ली अंग्रेज़ हो जायें। ये हम सब करते थे उस वक़्त, किसी क़दर एक ज़माने में। तो मैं अंग्रेज़ का आदर करता हूँ अंग्रेज़ की तो नहीं बुराई की। लेकिन अब मैं बन्नू नक़ली अंग्रेज़ या नक़ली यूरोपियन—तो वो, न उनका आदर करना हुआ न

मेरे देश का आदर करना हुआ। मैं तो न उधर का रहा, न इधर का रहा, बीच में रह जाता हूँ। तो इसी तरह से चाहे अंग्रेज़ हो, या कोई और देश हो, जहाँ नक़ल करने की भावना आती है, तो फिर अपनी शक्ति कम हो जाती है सीखने की भावना, सीखने की, क्योंकि हर एक देश, हर एक व्यक्ति, ख़ाली देश ही नहीं अपने पैर पर खड़ा होना है, अपनी टाँग पर। और औरों के साथ मित्रता करें। इसलिए इस समय, इस पेचीदा समय दुनिया के और देश के और खासकर जब हम बढ़ने की कोशिश करते हैं तो हमें अपने प्रश्नों पर गौर करना है, यह समझकर कि हमारे प्रश्न क्या हैं? हम पोथियाँ पढ़ें, कि वहाँ अंग्रेज़ों के यहाँ क्या हुआ या अमेरिका में क्या हुआ या रूस में, उससे हम लाभ उठा सकते हैं। लेकिन जहाँ हमने सोचा कि जो वहाँ हुआ उसकी हम नक़ल करें तो हमारी जड़ गड़बड़ा जाती है। हमारे दिमाग़ की, मन की जड़, गड़बड़ा जाती है। फिर हम अपने सवालियों से कुछ दूर हो जाते हैं। जैसे भाषा ही लीजिए। अगर हम चाहें कि हमारे देश की [कार्य प्रणाली] एक विदेशी भाषा में हो, विदेशी भाषा बड़ी सुन्दर है उसको हम सब सीखें, मुझे उसमें कोई एतराज नहीं। लेकिन, एक दीवार हो जायेगी आपके और आपकी करोड़ों जनता से। अगर हम सारे काम विदेशी भाषा में करें।

तो इसलिए इस समय हमें बड़ी खुशी होती है कि ऐसे महानुभाव हमारे माननीय अतिथि यहाँ आये। एक तो उनको बड़ा अभ्यास है, जो बात वो बताते हैं उनको हमें सोच-समझकर सुनना है, उससे लाभ उठाना है, उसको विचार करना है। क्योंकि वह बात बहुत बरसों के अभ्यास की है, तजुर्बे की बात है, हवाई बात नहीं है, और इस समय विशेषकर वो जो ये बड़े-बड़े कदम उठा रहे हैं। अभी थोड़े दिन में वो जाने वाले हैं। वो जो कहा जाता है, पहाड़ की चोटी पर चढ़ने को समिट को कहलाती है। आजकल नये-नये शब्द जो निकले हैं, तो वो समिट सम्मेलन में जायेंगे, वो चोटी के सम्मेलन में। और वो इतनी वो पहाड़ की चोटी इतनी पतली है कि वहाँ तीन या चार ही आदमी पहुँच सकते हैं। [हँसी] वहाँ अधिक जगह नहीं है, नहीं तो फिसल आयें और लोग शायद। लेकिन समय आने पर शायद ये बड़ी हो जाय। लेकिन इस समय जा रहे हैं वो। और वहाँ, मैं तो नहीं जानता वहाँ क्या बातें होंगी, लेकिन हम लोगों का विचार है कि वहाँ अब्वल बात, पहली-बात तो यही होगी कि शान्ति की दुनिया में, उसी के साथ बँधी हुई बात है, जिसको डिसआर्ममेंट कहते हैं— हथियार रखना सब देशों का। ये बुनियादी बातें हैं, सबमें बड़ी बातें हैं। और मैं समझता हूँ आप सब मुझसे सहमत होंगे, जब मैं उनसे कहूँ कि इन बातों में डिसआर्ममेंट के सिलसिले में, विशेषकर सारे डिसआर्ममेंट हर हथियार की। उधर ये अणुशक्ति, एटम और हाइड्रोजन बम की, जो हथियार हैं, इनके बनाने के और प्रयोग करने के हम विरोधी हैं आप जानते हैं। तो हम इनको ये संदेशा, कि इस समिट कांफ्रेंस में यह आशा करते हैं कि इस बात की सफलता होगी कि शान्ति के प्रश्न को कुछ काबू में लायें। कुछ डिसआर्ममेंट के रास्ते पर चल सकें आगे और विशेषकर ये जो एटम, हाइड्रोजन बम हैं, ये काबू में आयें। ये हम अपने देश की तरफ़ से पक्के तौर से कह सकते हैं। क्योंकि हमारे यहाँ इसमें कोई दो राय नहीं है। और कितनी बातों में कितनी ही राय हों। क्यों साहब मैं सही कहता हूँ? [नेहरू जनता से पूछने लगते हैं, तालियाँ] क्योंकि जब तक यह जड़ नहीं पक्की होती, ऊपर का मकान बड़ा लम्बा—चौड़ा नहीं बनता है। यह आवश्यक हो गया है। तो ये तो है। अगर आप सोचें अपने देश के लिए, ज़रा खुदगर्जी से कि अगर दुनिया में लड़ाईयाँ हों तो हमारे सब पंचवर्षीय योजना का क्या नतीजा

होगा? क्या हश्च होगा। सब बिगड़ जाता है और बातों में हम पड़ जाते हैं। तो इसलिए सारे दुनिया के लिए शान्ति आवश्यक है। लेकिन उन देशों के लिए जो आजकल अपनी तरक्की कर रहे हैं कि एशिया के देश, अफ्रीका के देश चाहे भारत हो, चाहे इण्डोनेशिया हो, बर्मा हो, पाकिस्तान हो, कोई भी देश हो जो निकल रहे हैं, उनके लिए तो बहुत ही आवश्यक है कि लड़ाई न हो और शान्ति से हम बढ़ें। जिनको आजकल की भाषा में अण्डरडेवलप्ड देश कहते हैं। मेरा खयाल है, इन देशों में, मैं मुकाबला नहीं करता लेकिन कम से कम हमारे देश ने बड़े ज़ोरों से कोशिश की। उसमें कुछ सफलता भी हमें मिली आगे बढ़ने की और जितने हम बढ़े हैं उतने ही नये-नये प्रश्न पैदा हुए हैं, क्योंकि आगे बढ़ने की एक निशानी है— नए प्रश्न पैदा होना। ये एक तरक्की की निशानी है। प्रश्न उसी के नहीं उठते हैं जो हर वक़्त लेटा हुआ है और बिलकुल प्रश्न नहीं होते जो मुर्दा है। कोई प्रश्न ही जान की निशानी है, प्रश्न उठते हैं आगे बढ़ते हैं। तो इसलिए ऐसी हालत में हमारे लिए अति आवश्यक हो गया कि दुनिया में शान्ति रहे और हम बढ़ सकें, तरक्की कर सकें। और ये जो हमने क़दम रखा है नयी दुनिया में, नयी मशीन की दुनिया में, नये तरक्की की दुनिया में, पूरे तौर से उस रास्ते पर हम जा सकें।

इस क़दम के उठाने वालों में हमारे माननीय अतिथि एक बहुत अगुआ नेताओं में हैं दुनिया के। और इसलिए और भी पहले आये थे। आपको याद होगा, जब चार वर्ष हुए आये थे, चार पाँच वर्ष हुए तो कुछ अधिक रहे थे भारत में, फिरे थे, और इनका स्वागत कैसा हुआ था प्रेम से, उत्साह से, आपको याद होगा और शायद यह भी याद हो कि सबसे बड़ा स्वागत उनका इस कलकत्ते की नगरी में हुआ था।¹³⁶ तो उसी समय से हम प्रेम की निगाह से, आदर की निगाह से उनकी तरफ़ देखते आये हैं। अब की दफ़े तो ये एक दो दिन के लिए आये, कुछ घण्टों के लिए आये। जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा एक दूसरे देश को जाते हुए रास्ते में रुक गये। वो भी उससे भी हमें बहुत खुशी हुई। क्योंकि इस समय से अब तक दुनिया में इस चार पाँच बरस में भी दुनिया काफ़ी बदली है। हमें भी नये-नये तज़ुर्बे हुए हैं। कुछ-अच्छे कुछ-बुरे। उससे भी हम सीख रहे हैं और दुनिया को भी बहुत हुए। और यकीनन इस चार-पाँच वर्ष में श्री खुश्चेव ने जो तरह-तरह के क़दम उठाये अपने देश में और दुनिया के मैदान में वो बहुत दूर के क़दम थे। और उससे कुछ दुनिया का रंग बदलता गया है। और अब हम आ रहे हैं उस समय उस जगह आ रहे हैं हम कि जब कि यह समिट कांफ़्रेन्स आप कहिए, कोई समिट कांफ़्रेन्स तो एक़दम से जादू नहीं करेगी कि दुनिया बदल जाय। लेकिन हाँ, वह एक बड़ा क़दम हैं। अगर उस क़दम को मज़बूती से उठाये, जो वहाँ लोग होंगे, तो एक नया रास्ता खुल जाता है, और वो दुनिया के लिए भला होगा रास्ता और उसमें फिर पक्के तौर से दुनिया जिसको कहते हैं—पीसफुल को-एग्ज़िस्टन्स—उस रास्ते पर चल सकेगी और अगर मुकाबले होंगे तो दोस्ती के मुकाबले होंगे।

इसलिए विशेषकर हमें खुशी है कि आप यहाँ आये, रुके कुछ हमने आपसे सलाह ली, सुना आपको और हमने एक प्रेम का और आदर का इज़हार किया आपके लिए और आपके देश के लिए।

136. On 30 November 1955. See also SWJN/SS/31/Section "Visit of Soviet Leaders", pp. 299-365.

कल सवेरे आप जायेंगे और कल ही आप दोपहर तक या तीसरे पहर तक मास्को पहुँच जायेंगे। तो मैं आशा करता हूँ कि यहाँ भारत में जो आप थोड़े दिन पहले और अब रहे दो-तीन दिन। उसकी याद आपको रहेगी कि भारत में ऐसे लोग रहते हैं जो आपका आदर करते हैं, आपसे प्रेम करते हैं और आपके देश और आपकी जनता से मित्रता चाहते हैं।

[तालियाँ]

[Translation begins:

Mr Mayor,¹³⁷ Prime Minister, comrades and friends,

The Soviet Premier arrived in Delhi two weeks ago and then left for Indonesia after two or three days. It was a very short stay. In fact, he was merely in transit. But we were happy to have him with us even for a short while because it has given us the opportunity to talk to each other and take counsel. He is going back tomorrow morning. So I came today from Delhi to take the opportunity of meeting him and bidding him goodbye.¹³⁸

Mr. Khrushchev has done a great deal in his own country and the world. But what has made a great impact on all of us is the manner in which he has borne aloft the flag of peace. Everything that he has done and said in these years stressed the need for world peace and disarmament. His efforts have been constantly directed towards channelising the world resources for peaceful purposes.

As you know, we in India have a special interest in this matter, love of peace is in our very blood and bones. Whether you go back to the time of Asoka who renounced war in the hour of victory or two thousand years later, to the Gandhian era, the spirit of peace pervades our very being. That does not mean that we are in any way superior. Whatever our stature, we are drawn wily-nily towards the glorious heritage of thousands of years.

The world has no alternative except to follow the path of peace today. The other road can only lead to total destruction. Why then should we hesitate? All the great leaders and statesmen of the world know that peace and disarmament are the only course open to them. A halt must be called to this terrible arms race.

People all over the world accept this and are all for peace. But the extraordinary thing is that there are always obstacles in the way of finding a solution. The big powers sit around the conference table for months and years without arriving at a solution. It is true that we can see some light now because

137. See fn 134 in this section.

138. See fn 135 in this section.

of the pressure of public opinion and circumstances. The demand of the times is propelling us in the direction of peace. Yet there is fear in the hearts and minds of the big powers and their governments, fear that someone will steal a march over them in the race for armaments. Nothing is worse than fear and any act committed in fear is bound to be wrong. Fear weakens a human being like nothing else can.

Today national power is gauged by its armed strength. Yet the greatest strength comes from fearlessness. A nation which is afraid cannot wield even its weapons fearlessly. There is a pall of fear over the world today. So nations are afraid to take any major step. But I still feel that the demand for peace is so great in the world that the big step will be taken. The Prime Minister of the Soviet Union will take lead in this matter. He reminds the people of the need for peace wherever he goes.

We would respect him in any event because of the respect that we hold his country in. We have tried to understand the great revolution which took place in his country. So we would welcome him with honour and affection in any case. But our respect has gone up even further because he speaks of peace and his words have found an echo in the heart of every Indian. There are many faults in us, in Indians, and we make mistakes. But I have no doubt about it that the people of India are peace-loving and will remain so. You will find that all our energy is concentrated on uplifting the people and removing poverty. India cannot progress without finding a solution to this problem. We want to accelerate the pace of progress.

Just now Mr. Khrushchev mentioned our five year plans. We are about to start the Third Plan in a year. The five year plans are not some rigid documents. They tell a story, story of the march of forty crores of human beings. There can be no argument about the fact that we have to march forward as a nation in order to get out of the mire of poverty in which we have been for so long. We have to take our place on the world stage and modernise India. That does not mean that we should forget our old moorings. We will lose our vitality if we do so. How can we grow and flourish if we cut off our roots? A nation and a race need very strong roots. What are we? We have not sprung up suddenly from nowhere. We have been moulded over thousands of years of history. We bear the imprint of the good and the bad, the ups and downs over the years. How can we forget that?

However, we accumulate a great deal of dust and dross too in the course of a long history which we have to get rid of. We must don a new garb and sprout new shoots. The modern world, as our honoured guest mentioned, is a product of science and its offshoots. A nation can become powerful only through science. But the true yardstick is the kind of human being who wields the

power. Ultimately it is human beings who are in charge of machines. The modern world functions on machines, big and small. But it is the human beings behind the machine who really counts. Whether he uses it for good or evil depends on his character. So that is the true yardstick.

Every country in the world must learn from the experience of others in dealing with major issues. There must be friendship between nations. We can learn a great deal from a great country like the Soviet Union. Other countries have forged ahead too. After all, science is not the property of any one country. Knowledge belongs to the whole world. There is no copyright on scientific knowledge. It cannot be patented by a businessman. Knowledge belongs to anyone who can understand it.

We have to learn a great deal from the Soviet Union and others. Being full of great vitality, the Soviet Union has taken gigantic strides. Many of their problems were similar to ours. But there were other different problems too. Conditions differ from country to country. That is why it is not proper to copy anyone because it lacks vitality. A nation cannot progress giving up its own identity.

You may remember that in the olden days, there was a section of people in Bombay, Delhi and Calcutta which was very keen to emulate the West and the English in particular in dress, life style, language, etc. I have nothing against the British or the West. But I cannot respect anyone who copies others blindly. Such people fall between two stools. A nation loses its creativity when it is content merely to copy. We should learn from others but a nation or an individual must learn above all to stand on its own feet while being friendly towards all.

Therefore, at this complex moment in the history of the world and India when we wish to progress, we must look at our problems from our own perspective. The experience of others can help us no doubt and we can take advantage of what has happened in the United States or the Soviet Union. But the moment we think of copying others, we will begin to lose our moorings and get adrift. The issues begin to get clouded. Take the question of language, for instance. We cannot continue to do our work in a foreign tongue even if it is a beautiful one. We must learn the language, I have no objection to that. But it would create a barrier between the government and the masses if we continue to do all our work in a foreign language.

We are very happy to welcome our honoured guest. For one thing, he has had years of experience and we must listen carefully to what he has to say and learn from it. He talks from a vantage point of years of experience, and his country is making rapid strides today. Soon he will participate in a summit. It is a new word which has been coined. The summit is so narrow that it has room only for three or four people. [Laughter] If more tried to reach it, they will

come to grief. Perhaps it will widen as time goes by.

Anyhow, he is going to attend the summit. I do not know what will be discussed there. But it is generally felt that the summit is closely linked to world peace and disarmament, I think all of you will agree with me when I say that we are opposed to all nuclear weapons. We hope that the summit meet will succeed in focusing on these issues and lead the world towards disarmament and peace. India is quite clear on this issue and there can be no two opinions about this. Am I right? [Applause] Until we lay strong foundations, we cannot build an edifice.

Even from the narrow point of view of self-interest, if a world war breaks out, all our hopes of progress and planning will be dashed. Peace then is absolutely vital to our world and particularly so for the developing countries of Asia and Africa. The word used to describe Pakistan, India, Indonesia, Burma and the countries of Africa is underdeveloped. Without making any comparisons, I can say that India has made great efforts to progress and succeeded to a large extent. Progress entails new problems but that is inevitable. It is only the lifeless who face no problems. Therefore, it is absolutely essential for us that there should be peace in the world so that we can achieve our goals to industrialise and take our place in the new firmament of nations.

Our honoured guest is one of the leaders in this move. You may remember the enthusiastic reception accorded to him when he visited India four years ago. You may also recall that the best reception of all was accorded in Calcutta.¹³⁹ We have always had great affection and respect for him. His visit this time is a very brief one. He is breaking journey on his visit to another country. We are happy to welcome him. The world has undergone great changes during the last ten, fifteen years. India too has had new experiences, some good, some bad. We are learning from them. Mr. Khrushchev has taken various steps in the international sphere which have had far reaching consequence. Now he is on his way to a summit. There can be no miracles. But it could lead to some concrete steps being taken towards peaceful coexistence which will benefit the whole of mankind. So we are happy that he has broken his journey to have consultations with us. All our good wishes go to him and his country.

He will leave tomorrow morning and reach Moscow by afternoon. I hope his short visit will be fresh in his memory and rank as a sign of India's respect and affection for him and the Soviet Union. [Applause]

139. See fn 136 in this section.

236. Talks with Khrushchev ¹⁴⁰

Record of talks between Prime Minister and
Mr. Khrushchev in Calcutta on 1st March 1960

P.M. : What does His Excellency Mr. Khrushchev think of recent developments since we met last?

Mr.K. : I am afraid I am not fully informed, partly because I could not read papers regularly and partly because I was on the move. As far as I can make out, nothing much has happened. Regarding the French atomic explosion in Sahara, our respective positions are the same. I may tell you confidentially that our statement on the French test,¹⁴¹ which was issued from Moscow, was actually prepared in Delhi.

While I was in Indonesia, President Soekarno told me that President Eisenhower had a very tumultuous welcome in Brazil,¹⁴² but there were certain troubles in Argentine.¹⁴³

P.M. : In Argentine, the Peronistas did not welcome Eisenhower and created trouble.

Mr.K. : The great news which has shaken the world is that Shah's wife is now expecting.

P.M. : The great question is whether the child is going to be a boy or a girl.

Mr.K. : Shah is not a wise person. We are indifferent to whether Shah's wife is pregnant, but will welcome a child regardless of whether it is a boy or a girl.¹⁴⁴

140. Note signed by P. N. Kaul, Deputy Secretary, MEA, on 4 March 1960. S. Dutt Papers, NMML. Submitting this record, P.N. Kaul wrote: "F.S. may kindly see the two copies (placed below) of the record of talks between P.M. and Mr. Khrushchev in Calcutta."

For Nehru's earlier talks with Khrushchev, see SWJN/SS/57/items 198 and 199.

141. France concluded atomic test in Sahara on 13 February when Khrushchev was on the first leg of his Indian tour and was visiting Suratgarh Farm.

142. Eisenhower reached Brasilia on 23 February 1960.

143. Eisenhower was in Argentina from 25 to 28 February 1960.

144. Their son was born in October 1960.

I do not know if you are aware that a committee of experts had been set up by American Congress to compare the economic progress made by Socialist countries. This committee had come to the conclusion that we will not only be able to implement our Seven-Year Plan but that we will also be catching up with the United States. This is a hard conclusion for them to swallow, but is, of course, delightful for us. It is important in so far as it helps in clearing up minds.

P.M. : I read a summary of this report.

Mr. K. : So did I. I saw the summary given by Tass [TASS].

P.M. : Another interesting report is one on the development of atomic energy. The report came to the conclusion that while theoretically any country can develop atomic bombs, yet in terms of practical possibilities, not more than 7, 8 countries can do so. If no ban is imposed now upon the tests, then it will be more difficult to impose it later, by which time more countries would have come to possess atom bombs.

Mr. K. : I agree with this conclusion. The pity of it, however, is that right inferences are not drawn. What is necessary is that you have to agree to end atomic tests. The Western Powers want to continue exploding bombs underground. We naturally did not agree with this. Another important inference is that there should be agreement on disarmament. On this issue also there is not the requisite agreement.

I read a statement by Herter¹⁴⁵ that there should be disarmament along with International Police Force. The problem of International Police Force is insoluble. They will not have International Police Force under our command. Similarly, we will not agree to their having such a force under their command. I have a suspicion that the Western powers want this International Police Force to suppress people's movement under the guise of crushing subversive activities. Anything which does not appeal to them, will be dubbed as communist subversive activity, and they will seek to suppress it through the International Police Force.

P.M. : It is difficult to have an International Police Force, but if there is such a force, it must be under joint command.

145. Christian A. Herter, US Secretary of State, 22 April 1959 to 20 January 1961.

Mr.K. : I do not think the time is yet ripe for it, and frankly cannot see how it can be done. Besides, it would not be necessary to have an International Police Force if there is effective disarmament. Then there would be other means of putting pressure on countries which misbehave.

P.M. : Something like the force in Gaza Strip could, perhaps, be possible, though on a bigger scale.

Mr.K. : We will hear about it on 15th March in the Disarmament Commission in Geneva.¹⁴⁶ It is interesting to note the development of a clearer understanding favouring disarmament. In U.S.A. and especially in U.K., it is being realised more clearly that the policy of "from position of strength" has failed. This makes talks on disarmament easier but progress will be slow and will take time.

I hear the United States is giving you big amounts as credit for constructing a steel plant like Bhilai.

P.M. : So far there have been only vague talks. There have not been any direct talks.

Mr.K. : This approach is typical for them. Reason tells them that they should offer assistance, but capitalist practices sometimes do not allow them to implement their own ideas.

P.M. : Whenever such questions of large scale aid arise, they say that they have first to go to Congress.

Mr.K. : I met a number of Congressmen when I was in the United States.¹⁴⁷ Some of them seem to have lost all sense of reality; so much so that it is even difficult to talk to them.

P.M. : They live in a different world.

Mr. Khrushchev has had a long tour.¹⁴⁸ I hope when he goes back he will have some rest.

146. This refers to the conference of ten-nation Disarmament Committee in Geneva. See item 2, fn 13.

147. In September 1959.

148. Between 11 February and 5 March 1960, Khrushchev visited India, Burma, Indonesia, and Afghanistan.

Mr.K. : It does not seem possible in the near future. I have to get ready to go to France.

P.M. : When exactly do you go to France?

Mr.K. : I arrive in Moscow on 5th and leave for France on 15th. There situation at home is very good and is perfectly calm. We are very pleased about it.

P.M. : De Gaulle is facing difficulties at home.

Mr.K. : Very much so. The trouble is that his approach is unrealistic. I do not think he can solve the Algerian problem. De Gaulle had good intentions when he first made his declaration, but forces opposed to him are too strong.

P.M. : But specially those forces which supported him earlier, are now against him. Besides, De Gaulle is thinking mostly in terms of grandeur of France.

Mr.K. : Grandeur does not solve anything at all. If grandeur has any meaning, it must be recognised by others. France is not in a position to build up grandeur.

France can, however, play a useful role between East and West if she stays neutral and does not follow the lead of West Germany. I may give you an analogy, when Tito spoiled relations with Socialist countries, he was in great demand in the West. Now when tension between East and West has lessened, Tito's importance has also been deflated. If France stays neutral, it can do a lot than by following in the wake of great powers.

P.M. : France is doing more than following great powers. It is following in the wake of West Germany more than even Western powers.

Mr.K. : De Gaulle, in my view, is playing a game. He is playing on Adenauer's¹⁴⁹ strength, but is not in fact supporting him. De Gaulle has recognised post-war frontier and is supporting the theme of unity of Germany. He is supporting West Germany in relation to West Berlin.

149. Konrad Adenauer, Chancellor, Federal Republic of Germany, 1949-63.

P.M. : Fear of Germany is very real in France.

Mr.K. : This fear has a real basis. West Germany can take a stand which will make the position of France very awkward. If West Germany, for example, effects a rapprochement with us what will become of NATO. This possibility cannot be ruled out. There is no need for guess work. One can wait and see.

P.M. : West Germany likes to continue the tension between East and West.

Mr.K. : That is so.

I hear you went to Suratgarh. When I went there,¹⁵⁰ I formed a very good impression. The General Manager there is a very good man.

P.M. : I have been there since you were there last.¹⁵¹ One of the unfortunate factors is that there has not been any rain for the last few months.

Mr.K. : The answer to that is that you should have better irrigation.

P.M. : We have now got canal water in a substantial part of the farm. For the rest we have to depend on rain.

Mr.K. : Rain is a very bad ally. Rain is very irresponsible but the soil in Suratgarh is very good. Given a good soil you can get a lot of bread, provided you can make arrangements for water. Irrigation is the only answer, even though it is an expensive proposition.

P.M. : Apart from being expensive, irrigation demands time also. In India today we have more irrigation than in many other Asian countries. We generally link irrigation with hydro-electric projects. This cannot be done everywhere. We try and do it wherever possible.

Yesterday the World Agriculture Fair closed in Delhi.

Mr.K. : We want to present you something from there. Please accept it. Our Ambassador¹⁵² will speak to you about it in greater detail.

150. On 13 February 1960.

151. On 26 February.

152. Ivan Aleksandrovich Benediktov.

P.M. : Thank you for the gift.

Mr.K. : We are very happy with the progress that we have made in economy in our country, both in industry and agriculture.

Now we are gathering fruits of reorganisation.

P.M. : How about the virgin land?

Mr.K. : Very well. A lot of work needs to be done there but it is going on to our satisfaction. All our investments in virgin lands have now been made good. Net proceeds alone amount to about 18 million roubles.

P.M. : How many hectares of land have been brought under cultivation under this programme?

Mr.K. : About 35 million hectares. We intend to add another 12 million.

P.M. : Do you have single crop cultivation?

Mr.K. : For the time being, the lands are producing only single crop, but we intend to rotate crops and are going in for corn production. Corn is very useful as fodder.

P.M. : Do you keep large stocks of grain for use in emergencies?

Mr.K. : We would like to have reserves which would last us for a year, but have not yet reached that stage. We get too many requests for help and cannot really be too strict. We give help saying that it is being given for the last time but these things repeat themselves. We will take it easy and will not force the pace. We expect, it will take five to seven years before we can build up adequate reserves.

P.M. : I heard of some plan to create a big lake in Siberia which, when created, would even change the climate of the neighbouring areas.

Mr.K. : There were some vague proposals, but nothing concrete was ever discussed. There is a practical proposition to divert waters of the rivers falling in the Arctic sea to Volga. This is likely to cost about 12 billion roubles. When this plan is implemented, it would give us a second navigable waterway from Volga to Arctic ocean.

P.M. : Does Mr. Khrushchev still think that some progress can be made at the Summit?

Mr.K. : I think there will be some progress, no matter how insignificant it may be. I do not think that others will want us to leave the Summit without gaining anything. Eisenhower wants to leave something behind as he leaves his office. Macmillan is also similarly inclined. It will be more difficult for De Gaulle. Cannot really judge De Gaulle as I have never met him. I judge him only from press reports.

When will your Second Five Year Plan be over?

P.M. : In about a year and four months.

Mr.K. : How is it being fulfilled?

P.M. : In agriculture, we have fallen behind for lack of rains. Now we are catching up. In industry we are all right.

Mr.K. : I was very happy to visit Bhilai.¹⁵³ This may be because I spent my childhood in industry and mines. When I was in Bhilai, I felt quite at home.

P.M. : A sad accident occurred there recently.¹⁵⁴ You must have heard about it.

Mr.K. : Yes, I heard about it. This is one of the things that happen. How is your Third Five-Year Plan being prepared?

P.M. : It is in the paper stage. By the end of April it will be out as a draft Plan for discussion. After it has been discussed for about 9 months, it will be finalised.

Mr.K. : Will the Third Plan be considerably more in size than the Second Five-Year Plan?

P.M. : It would almost be double of the Second Plan.

153. On 14 February.

154. Accident at Bhilai on 29 February; see SWJN/SS/57/item 3.

Mr.K. : Americans must help you to finance some of the projects. Lippman,¹⁵⁵ Harriman¹⁵⁶ have been speaking in your favour.

P.M. : It is true that these gentlemen have been speaking in our favour. Our expectation is that United States will give us aid but in dribblets. Major aid will have to come through Congress. The World Bank sent a party of three men to India and South-East Asia to find out how planning was progressing there.¹⁵⁷ The process of industrial development and agriculture is bound to go on. The question is of speed.

Mr.K. : That is the main problem.

P.M. : There the big factor is the enormous agricultural population. A part of this population is being absorbed in industry but even the remaining balance is colossal.

Mr.K. : These are big problems. We too have a surplus of agricultural population.

P.M. : Even now?

Mr.K. : Abroad they say that we are cutting down our armed forces, because we are short of hands. This is nonsense. We have a surplus of man power in agriculture. As efficiency in agriculture is growing, more and more hands are becoming surplus. When Stalin died, we were told that we were short of hands and we looked for help to China. We even entered into a Treaty with China. When, however, we learnt more about economy and reorganisation, we found that there was no lack of labour in our own country.

P.M. : More and more people are drifting towards industry.

155. Walter Lippman, American political columnist.

156. W. Averell Harriman, US politician and diplomat.

157. The three-member World Bank team—consisting of Oliver Franks, chairman of Lloyds Bank, London; Hermann Abs, chairman of the Deutsche Bank, Frankfurt; and Allan Sproul, former president of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York—started work in Karachi on 13 February to study economic conditions and planned development programmes in India and Pakistan.

Mr.K. : But on the other hand, as machines are being made, more and more automatic, an ever increasing number of people is being released from work. So we are reducing working hours which otherwise would lead to unemployment.

P.M. : Looking into the future when automation is implemented in a big way, when, for example, weeks' work is done in a couple of hours, what would happen?

Mr.K. : Working hours will have to be made shorter still, and then people may work for 2 to 3 days in a week. In U.S. there is the problem of leisure. For the time being, this matter is in the realm of fantasy.

P.M. : I told you when we met last that I would write to you about vaccines for small-pox etc. I hope to be able to send you the letter soon.

Mr. K. : Please do so, we will consider it.

P.M. : I will meet Macmillan about 10 days before the Summit.¹⁵⁸

Mr.K. : Are your relations with Macmillan close and intimate?

P.M. : Not terribly intimate but good.

Mr.K. : Macmillan is quite sociable, but Eden was better.

P.M. : Even Eden made a mess in Suez.

Mr.K. : Eden is an intelligent person and I have great respect for him.

P.M. : He is now writing a book on Suez with a view to justifying what he did there.¹⁵⁹

Mr.K. : It would be difficult for him to justify his attitude to Suez.

If you know Macmillan well, perhaps you may advise him to play a positive role at the Summit.

158. At the Commonwealth Conference in London.

159. Anthony Eden, *Full Circle: The Memoirs of Anthony Eden* (UK: Houghton Mifflin, 1960).

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

P.M. : Of course, I will do that not only privately but also during our discussions at the conference.

Mr.K. : I am concerned at Eisenhower's decision to share atomic secrets. This may have bad results. So far we have not shared our secrets with other Socialist countries, but if America were to share her secrets with her allies, it will place us in a difficult situation.

Confidentially, I may tell you that I intend to send a message to Eisenhower on this matter. Although it will have no effect on him, it will at least serve as a warning.

P.M. : This is a matter of concern for us also. It leads to an uncontrollable situation, about which I talked earlier. Perhaps, the type of secrets they want to share are those which are, more or less, known to everyone.

Mr.K. : Perhaps.

P.M. : Are you thinking of going to Africa?

Mr.K. : I have invitations from a number of African countries but cannot say if I will succeed in going there. I would very much like to go to Ethiopia. The Emperor of Ethiopia created a good impression on us by his heroic activities during the war against his country.¹⁶⁰

P.M. : I also formed a good impression of him. He is a quiet and dignified man. I have been wanting to go there myself. He has asked me several times, but do not know when I will be able to go.

Mr.K. : We have good relations with Ethiopia, but this time I am definitely going to Korea which is our neighbour. I have been postponing it, but cannot do so any longer.

P.M. : Your country stretches far and wide; so you have many neighbours.

Mr.K. : Rumania and Bulgaria have also invited me. They feel hurt that I have been in other countries of Eastern Europe but not to them. I would also like to go to Austria.

160. Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia, 1930-1974.

P.M. : I first went to Austria in 1910 when the old Emperor was still there. That was about 50 years ago.

There have been some changes since then.

Mr.K. : I was in Vienna in 1946 incognito immediately after the war. I took Civil Engineering experts and Architects to study the situation in Vienna.

P.M. : When I went to Suratgarh I thought of having three more such farms in the neighbourhood when water came to the area about 2 to 3 years later.

Mr.K. : I welcome that and have full sympathy for it. Mechanised large scale farming is the answer for shortage of food.

P.M. : The limiting factor is, of course, water.

Mr.K. : I was told that when canal was built, there will be water.

P.M. : Canal there will be, but the water in the canal will be limited. This is a problem which we have with Pakistan.

It will be some years before another dam is built which will give us more water. In any case, we hope that there will be enough water within the next 2 to 3 years for about three farms.

237. To N.R. Pillai and S. Dutt: Meeting with the Soviet Ambassador¹⁶¹

The Soviet Ambassador came to me this afternoon and spoke about various matters. In particular, he mentioned the coming elections in Laos and the great concern of the Soviet Government at the way things were developing there.¹⁶² The elementary rights guaranteed by the Geneva Agreement were being violated. Pathet Lao was harassed and their leaders were arrested. He wanted the Government of India to exert influence on the Laotian Government to have free elections without any violation of the elementary rights. Also, he wanted us to press for the International Commission for Laos to function again.

161. Note to SG and FS, 12 March 1960. Copied to the Defence Minister.

162. Elections were held in Laos on 24 April 1960.

2. I told him that we had always been of opinion that this Commission should function as by its mere presence it helps to lessen friction and get over difficulties that arose from time to time. We could not, however, force ourselves down there and we could only function if the Laotian Government was agreeable.

3. The Ambassador said that the Soviet Government were writing to the UK Government on this subject and suggesting a joint message on behalf of the Commission Chairman to the Laotian Government.

4. The Ambassador then referred to the possibilities of cooperation in regard to atomic energy development between India and the Soviet Union. He mentioned the recent visit of Professor Emelyanov and his talks with Dr Bhabha. I told him that we would welcome this cooperation. In this matter, however, discussions should take place with Dr Bhabha. If it is necessary to have some kind of an agreement and this is approved of by both parties, this can be done.

5. He then referred to the recent agreement about the supply of oil by the Soviet to private Indian agencies.¹⁶³ He said that their Trade Representative had come to this agreement purely on a commercial basis and he thought that the terms were good from the point of view of India. I told him that we knew nothing about it and neither our Minister nor the Secretary concerned had heard of it. When the matter came up before Parliament, our Minister had to deny knowledge. This was rather awkward and embarrassing. While we had no objection in principle, this kind of thing should be done in consultation and with the approval of Government.

6. The Ambassador said that he himself was not aware of this agreement and it was his Trade Representative who had arranged it. I told him that he should discuss this matter with our Minister, Shri K.D. Malaviya. He said that he had had a talk with the Secretary, Shri Khera, whose reaction had been "negative". By this apparently he meant that Khera did not approve of this at all and had said to him that such transactions should be only with Government and not with private concerns. I repeated that this matter should be further discussed with Minister Malaviya.

163. See item 152.

(m) Africa

238. To Kwame Nkrumah: Constitutional Referendum¹⁶⁴

March 9, 1960

My dear Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter of the 23rd February and for the copy of your Government's proposals for a Republican Constitution.

We shall follow with interest the results of your referendum on the Constitution.¹⁶⁵ I do not see why it should be necessary for observers from outside to go to Ghana at the time of this referendum. I am sure that, as you say, the referendum will be conducted with scrupulous fairness.

We shall certainly send someone to represent us at the time of the inauguration of your Republic. I wish I could come myself as I am anxious to visit Ghana. But I am rather doubtful at present if this will be possible. I have never had so busy a time as I am having now in India and I am over-burdened with problems. I feel that I should face them here and try to help in solving them. As a matter of fact, I have hardly been out of India for the last three years except for very brief visits to Afghanistan and Iran. At the end of next month I shall take my first long trip abroad to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London. I hope to meet you there.

With all good wishes,

[Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

164. Letter to Nkrumah, the Prime Minister of Ghana. File No. CPD-20/59-AFR-II, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.

165. The referendum, held on 19, 23, and 27 April 1960, approved the Republican Constitution.

239. In the Lok Sabha: Morocco and Mauritius Disaster Relief¹⁶⁶

Relief for Morocco and Mauritius Islands

Question:¹⁶⁷ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government propose to give any aid for the relief of the victims of the Moroccan earthquake on the night of the 1st March, 1960;
- (b) whether Government also intend to give aid to the cyclone stricken people of Mauritius Island;
- (c) if so, the nature and extent thereof?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):
(a) to (c).

Agadir.

The earthquake disaster which occurred in Agadir in the early hours of March 1, 1960 was a calamity of an unprecedented nature. The city, which was a pleasure resort and had large numbers of foreign tourists, was almost totally destroyed. The number of people killed has been estimated at 6000 to 10000.

The Government immediately enquired from their Ambassador at Rabat as to what help we could send. The Ambassador mentioned various articles which were needed, but the most urgent demand was for medicines. Immediate steps were taken to send various medicines, including vitamins, drugs, vaccines, etc. for the relief of victims. The amount sanctioned thus far has been Rs. 50,000 for this purpose. But further consignments will be sent later.

Air India International have taken these free of charge to Paris from where they are being sent by Moroccan Airways to Rabat.

Mauritius

On the 19th January, a cyclone hit Mauritius causing a great deal of damage. The Indian Commissioner there¹⁶⁸ cabled for immediate assistance for the victims among whom are a large number of Indo-Mauritians. It was decided to spend Rs. 2 lakhs on relief supplies. Blankets, sarees, frying pans, coir fibre and galvanized water buckets have already been shipped by the Scindia Company's *S.S. Jalaveera* on the 1st March. The goods are expected to reach Port Louis

166. Oral answers to questions, 9 March 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol XL, cols 4866-4868.

167. By Congress MPs Raghunath Singh and D.C. Sharma.

168. J.N. Dhamija.

on the 8th March. The Government of Mauritius is personally looking after relief arrangements.

The Scindia Company have agreed to carry the goods at fifty per cent the normal rate. A further supply will be sent by the next ship.

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि चूँकि मॉरीशस में रहने वालों की ज़्यादातर आबादी ईस्ट यू. पी. और बिहार के लोगों की है और उनको असल में अरहर की दाल और चावल की बहुत आवश्यकता है तो क्या प्रधानमंत्री महोदय उनको अरहर की दाल और चावल भेजने का कोई प्रबन्ध यहाँ से करेंगे?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : मेरी राय है कि उनका स्वास्थ्य ज़्यादा अच्छा होगा अगर वे गेहूँ खायेंगे।

[Translation begins:

Shri Raghunath Singh: I want to know whether the Prime Minister is arranging to send arhar dal and rice from here since most of the population in Mauritius is from eastern UP and Bihar and they basically need arhar dal and rice?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: In my opinion, their health will be better if they eat wheat.

Translation ends]

Shri Sadhan Gupta:¹⁶⁹ May I know the number of Indian national affected by the earthquake and the cyclone respectively and how much property has been lost and how many casualties?

Mr. Speaker: He wants to know how many Indian nationals have suffered on account of the earthquake and cyclone respectively.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know if there are any Indians in Agadir. I have no information. As for property. The whole city is in ruins. It will take a long time to calculate what has been lost there. At present, the first object is to rescue people, if they can be rescued, and to give immediate relief. The question of property will come a long time afterwards.

169. CPI, Lok Sabha MP from Calcutta East, West Bengal.

As for Mauritius, I have no idea whether Indians have been involved as such. There are Indian nationals; of course, a large number of people living in Mauritius are of Indian descent.

श्री ब्रजराज सिंह : क्या सरकार के ध्यान में यह बात आई है कि देश की कुछ संस्थाओं ने भी इस सम्बन्ध में मदद देने का कोई प्रयत्न किया है और यदि किया है तो सरकार इस सम्बन्ध में क्या उनको कोई सहायता पहुँचाने की कोशिश कर रही है?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : इधर उधर चर्चा देखी है कि लोग सहायता देना चाहते हैं। बड़ी अच्छी बात है जो लोग सहायता करें या कोष जमा करें। गवर्नमेंट की तरफ़ से तो इतना ही हो सकता है कि उनको मदद की जाये और जो पैसा भेजें उसके एवज़ में वहाँ आवश्यक चीज़ें भेजी जायें।

[Translation begins:

Shri Braj Raj Singh: Has it come to the notice of the Government that some institutions in the country have made any efforts to provide relief for this cause; and if yes, what is the Government doing to facilitate it?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It has been heard that people want to help. This is very good that people help or collect money. What the Government can do is to help them send this help, and necessary relief supplies in lieu of the money collected.

Translation ends]

240. In the Lok Sabha: Violence in South Africa¹⁷⁰

Mr. Speaker: Papers to be laid on the Table.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:¹⁷¹ May I ask with reference to my motion for adjournment....

Mr. Speaker: I have disallowed it.

170. Discussion on motion for adjournment, 23 March 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XLI, cols 7545-7550.

171. CPI, Lok Sabha MP from Basirhat, West Bengal.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: May we beg of you to submit that this matter, the terrible, inhuman butchering that has taken place in South Africa,¹⁷² has roused the conscience of the entire Asian-African people as well as of the whole world? It is necessary, South Africa being one of the members of the Commonwealth, of which we are also a member, that we should make our position clear and say that we also hate this and make an appeal to you to allow this motion so that at least a statement may be made clearing the position of our Government.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: With regard to the interpretation of Rule 377, I want to make a submission. I had given notice seeking your permission for raising this matter of South Africa. Rule 377 says:

“A member who wishes to bring to the notice of the House any matter which is not a point of order shall give notice to the Secretary in writing stating briefly the point which he wishes to raise, in the House together with reasons for wishing to raise it, and he shall be permitted to raise it only after the Speaker has given his consent and at such time and date as the Speaker may fix.”

I had this morning requested you to give me permission to raise this matter in the House. I had also given the reasons. Not only the State Department in Washington but even the House of Commons debated this matter yesterday. Certain Members there raised this question. Britain is also a member of the Commonwealth of Nations of which we are also a Member and South Africa also happens to be a member.

Now, mass killings have taken place. The Pan-African movement is being crushed by the Government of South Africa. My point is this: We do not want to interfere in the internal affairs of any country; we have got no intention to do it. But at least we have got the right—this House has got the right—as representatives of this country to express our opinion. I suggest that our Government should protest to the Government of South Africa against these happenings and say that these things should not happen. Government should also direct our representative at the UNO to raise this matter in the UNO. We must do something for these people, at least by way of expression of our opinion.

Shri A.C. Guha:¹⁷³ May I say something?

172. Police firing at Sharpeville where sixty-seven persons were killed and a large number wounded on 21 March 1960.

173. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Barasat, West Bengal.

Mr. Speaker: No, no.

Shri A.C. Guha: This House should be given an opportunity to express its opinion.

Mr. Speaker: 'No, no. There are a number of countries in the Commonwealth. What happens if some other things happen in some other countries of the Commonwealth? Of course, I agree that this is a rare case, so far as South Africa is concerned. From that point of view, I felt that it would not be convenient or desirable that we should allow a discussion of this matter, however shocking it might be.

As regards the points raised by Shri Braj Raj Singh, Rule 377 does not apply to this case. Any matter over which we have jurisdiction but which is not specifically provided for may be raised under this rule. That is only if we have jurisdiction, not otherwise. Therefore, that rule does not apply so far as this matter is concerned.

But while disallowing this motion, I wanted to request the hon. Prime Minister to make a statement if he thought it necessary or useful. Otherwise, there is no meaning in allowing this. I do not want to create a precedent. The matter is, of course, very shocking. Therefore, I am requesting the hon. Prime Minister to make a statement, if he would like to.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Mr. Speaker, this motion or two motions raise rather difficult issues. Normally, as you have been pleased to say, this is not a matter which this House should discuss, I mean some internal matter within the internal jurisdiction of some other country. Therefore, if I may respectfully say so, what you have said about these motions is the only right approach to them.

Nevertheless, quite apart from these motions, something has happened at the Langa township near Cape Town¹⁷⁴ which has shocked the conscience of the world, and more particularly of course of us here in India and perhaps in other countries of Asia and Africa; but I would not like to exclude Europe or America, because this is, as far as we know, one of those very special happenings that almost affect the course of history. Here is Africa at the present moment—resurgent, proud and in a defiant mood, after long centuries of suppression.

174. See SWJN/SS/59/item 188.

Many countries are becoming independent; they have become independent and they will become independent. On the other side, there is this picture of people of practically a whole nation, excepting some groups who came from Europe, who have settled down and who are, of course, fully entitled to full citizenship and rights and privileges, but nevertheless a minority; these people of the minority are passing all manner of laws, segregation, apartheid and all that, which we well know, and finally asking every African not to move about without a pass or ticket—a prisoner-like thing—converting the great majority of the population of South Africa into a kind of semi-prisoners. This is an extraordinary thing. And when these people, so far as I know, peacefully protested by not taking out those passes, there was a conflict and there was this large-scale killing.

Now, killing is bad at any moment, but this kind of culmination of all these events leads to certain conclusions in the minds of people which point to this being not the end of an episode but the prelude to future conflicts; because I cannot understand the people of Africa submitting to this kind of thing. There can be no doubt that people in Asia, to whatever country, whatever party or group they might belong, will also give their fullest sympathy to them.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: We are one with them.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: That is the position. So that a situation arises when our normal approaches and even normal rules and procedures are not always adequate to deal with it.

I do admit that it would be wrong at the present moment, to discuss this matter in a motion for adjournment or in any other way. But I am not clear in my mind how far it should not be permissible sometime or other later to find some way for this House to express its opinion.

Some Hon. Members: Yes, yes, we should express our opinion.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not commit myself. But, when there is a strong feeling in this matter in this country and in this House, surely, some way ought to be found for the expression of that feeling. That is the position.

Hon. Members said something about protesting to the South African Government. We have no relations with the South African Government of protest or communication; and it would be rather a feeble thing for us to send a note of protest with regard to this matter. What the United Nations may do about it, I do not know. But, if any such thing is raised there our sympathies will be with it. How it will be raised and what the response might be I cannot say. If I am....

Shri Braj Raj Singh: At least our Prime Minister can refuse to sit with the Prime Minister of South Africa in the Commonwealth.

Mr. Speaker: Let there be no interruption. Let him be allowed to proceed.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: When I read of this episode I was reminded powerfully of something that occurred in India 41 years ago the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: More than that.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: That was followed, as everyone here knows by all manner of developments, upheavals, struggles and the like. And, I do not imagine that this thing, this large-scale killing, and even more so, the spirit behind it, the spirit of racial mastery, the spirit of authoritarianism, the spirit of not only segregation but treating the great majority of the people as an inferior race, as a sub-human species, that is a thing which, obviously, can never be accepted not only by them but by the hundreds of millions of Africa and Asia. And, therefore, we seem to be perhaps, on the verge of more serious happenings. Not in the immediate future, I mean, because nothing can be more serious in the world than vast racial conflicts. All these thoughts came to my mind.

Now, it is not necessary, if I may say so, for this House, at the present moment or later, to express formally its own reaction to these events. Because everyone knows how every single Member of this House and this country must feel about it and does feel about it. I ventured, at your bidding, to express my own opinion on this subject because, as hon. Members do, I feel strongly about this. Normally, I must restrain myself as much as I could—a Member of the Government has to speak in restrained language. But lest that restraint might be mistaken for a lack of strong feeling, I thought I might take advantage of your invitation to express the views of myself and my Government.

241. To Satya Narayan Sinha: Sharpeville Firing¹⁷⁵

I am sending you a draft Resolution for the Lok Sabha. Subject to the convenience and approval of Mr. Speaker, I should like to move this Resolution in the Lok Sabha on Monday, the 28th March after Question Hour.

2. A Resolution of this kind is unusual in our Parliament as it deals with the internal happenings in another country. But these tragic occurrences are

175. Note to the Union Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs, 24 March 1960.

themselves most unusual and have produced strong reactions in this country among all people and all Parties. It is fitting, therefore, that a Resolution be placed before the House. I feel, however, that this Resolution should be dealt with with dignity in the House and without long speeches. If it is discussed for long, much of the effect of the Resolution will be lost in a flood of oratory and perhaps unrestrained language.

3. I would, therefore, request Mr. Speaker that the time allotted for any discussion on this Resolution should not be more than half an hour. I shall not take more than five minutes when moving this Resolution.

4. Will you be good enough to place this submission of mine before Mr. Speaker?

(n) EGYPT

242. To Trilok Chand Sharma: Reception for Nasser¹⁷⁶

March 12, 1960

My dear Trilok Chandji,

You asked me the other day about the place for the Corporation Reception to President Nasser.¹⁷⁷ We have given thought to this matter. We feel that it will be better to have it in the Ramlila Grounds.

The Reception will be early in April, when the days are long. I mention this as the light arrangements need not be too elaborate though of course there should be adequate lighting for people. No fancy lighting is necessary. As for the time of the reception, it might be at 5.30 or 6.00 p.m. It cannot be before 5.30 and after 6.00 will be too late.

Premier Chou En-lai of China will be coming here sometime in April. The date is not fixed yet. When he came here in November-December 1956, he was given a Civic Reception at the Ramlila Grounds on the 30th November 1956. I do not think it is necessary for the Corporation to give him another reception.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

176. Letter to the Mayor of Delhi.

177. Nasser was in India from 29 March to 10 April. He was accompanied by Mahmoud Fawzi, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ali Sabri, Minister of Presidential Affairs, Tooma El Awad Allah, Minister of Municipal and Rural Affairs, among others. See SWJN/SS/59.

V. MISCELLANEOUS

243. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: An Incident
at Jamia Millia¹

March 2, 1960

Nan dear,

I have just read your tribute to Edwina.² It is a fine tribute and I liked it.³

You have mentioned the incident at the Jamia Milia.⁴ As the account you have given is not quite correct, I am giving you particulars about this incident. This is really for your own information or for record.

One night, when we were staying at York Road, I received an excited message that the Jamia Milia was likely to be attacked by a hostile crowd, I think I was having dinner then. I decided to go to the Jamia Milia, and started soon after. As you know, Jamia Milia is some distance out of Delhi, near Okhla. This was during the troubled times after the Partition, and odd and tragic incidents were happening round about Delhi.

When I reached the Jamia, I found a number of residents of the college gathered round about, full of apprehension. I remained with them for about half an hour, but nothing in the nature of an attack took place. I informed the police and told them to guard the Jamia Milia, and then drove back. On my way back, I found a group of persons by the way-side. They did not inspire me with any confidence and so I stopped and went up to them. We sat down in the open and I talked to them for a little while. They were a group of Hindu villagers. They talked about Muslims preparing to attack their villagers. I replied that this was all nonsense; I had been round about and nothing of this kind was happening or likely to happen. In fact, it was the Muslims there who were afraid of being attacked.

Just then a car drove up to from Delhi. Edwina and Amrit Kaur were in this car. Seeing me by the road-side, they stopped, and I went up to them. Soon after we drove back to Delhi.

Amrit Kaur was then living in a house next to ours in York Road. Edwina had gone to her soon after dinner, and while she was with Amrit Kaur, some

1. Letter. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit Papers, NMML.

2. Edwina Mountbatten died on the night of 20/21 February 1960. See SWJN/SS/57/item 249-252.

3. See Appendix 3.

4. Jamia Millia Islamia University.

excited member of my house staff went and told them that I had dashed off to the Jamia Milia. Edwina decided to follow me, and both she and Amrit Kaur proceeded towards Okhla. Before they reached Okhla, they saw me by the road-side and stopped. I returned to Delhi with them.

Love

Jawahar

244. To M.C. Davar: Cannot Advise⁵

3rd March, 1960

Dear Shri Davar,⁶

I have your letter of the 29th February. It is difficult for me to advise you on personal matters. But I do not quite understand how you will be able to function effectively in England or in any other country abroad. You have, of course, my good wishes wherever you may be.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

245. To G.P. Kapadia: Cannot Help⁷

March 3, 1960

Dear Shri Kapadia,⁸

I have received your letter of 29th February. It is difficult for me to say whether some part of the evidence was to be considered confidential or not. I am no judge of that. Only the Committee could judge that on the basis of the assurance

5. Letter. M.C. Davar Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
6. (1913-1977); a homeopath and a Congressman, participated in freedom struggle, worked for rehabilitation of refugees and emancipation of women.
7. Letter.
8. Gopaldas P. Kapadia; (b. 1905) Senior Partner, G.P. Kapadia and Co, Chartered Accountants; founder member and first President of the Institute of Chartered Accountants of India, 1949-52; President, Indian Merchants' Chamber, 1958-59; served on various committees appointed by the Government such as Stock Exchange Enquiry Committee, Visakhapatnam Shipyard Committee, Company Law Committee, Direct Taxes Administration Enquiry Committee.

they had given to witnesses. I cannot, therefore, help you in this matter. All I can do is to send your letter to the Finance Minister who is in a position to deal with it. I am doing so.

While I would gladly meet you, I really do not think that I can be of any help at all in dealing with matter you have mentioned. The Chairman of the Enquiry Committee and its other members dealt with this matter as they thought fit. Apart from them, the Finance Minister is the person responsible.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

246. To Morarji Desai: G. P. Kapadia⁹

March 3, 1960

My dear Morarji,

I am sending you a long letter from G.P. Kapadia and copy of my reply to him. You will notice that he has sent this letter to the Speaker of the Lok Sabha also.

I do not quite understand why parts of his note were left out of the printed report. On the face of it, there is nothing confidential in them. Also, he refers to some appendices which he had sent and which have been left out.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

247. To A.C.N. Nambiar: Integrating Administrative Branches¹⁰

March 4, 1960

My dear Nanu,¹¹

Thank you for your letter of the 1st March.

Indu's operation went off well and she has been recovering since then.¹² It is rather a slow process.

What you have written about the External Affairs having an Economic Division and the integration of the Information Services with the Ministry of External Affairs is important, and I broadly agree with you. To some extent, we have integrated the Information Services. I am passing on your letter to our Ministry.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

248. To K. Ram: Naming Dams¹³

With reference to the proposal in the attached letter, I have strong objections to my name being associated with any Dam. Also, I would not like any Dam to be named after the present Prime Minister of Canada. I think it is objectionable to attach these personal names.

2. Also I think that Emerald Dam is a much better name than India Dam, and it had better remain as it is. The Avalanche Dam may be named Canada Dam, if they so wish.

3. Thus the names should be:-

(1) Canada Dam

(2) Emerald Dam

(3) Kundah Dam

10. Letter. A.C.N. Nambiar Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

11. Former Indian Ambassador to Federal Republic of Germany.

12. Indira Gandhi had undergone surgery for the removal of a stone on 17 February 1960. See letters from Nehru to Anna Ornsholt and Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit in SWJN/SS/57/items 234 and 236.

13. Note to the PPS, 4 March 1960. File No. 17(961)/56-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

(I do not understand why 'Palam' is added to it. The name should be as simple as possible).

249. To P.C. Borooah: Americans detained in India¹⁴

March 4, 1960

Dear Shri Barooah,

Your letter of the 4th March. The letter you sent from Mr. Tom Rogers does not give any information about five Americans being held in India. This is rather odd, as obviously it would have been much easier for us to hold an enquiry if this information was supplied. Anyhow, I am enquiring into this matter.

I see that Mr. Tom Rogers has not given his own address in his letter. So I suppose it is not easy to make further enquiries from him. If, however, you have his address, you might write and find out who and where these five Americans are. All that he says in his letter is that he lives in Oregon in the United States.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

250. To Dr Shantilal J. Mehta: Thanking Indira Gandhi's Surgeon¹⁵

March 5, 1960

Dear Dr. Shantilal,¹⁶

I am sending you a somewhat belated letter to thank you for all the trouble you took to come to Delhi to operate on my daughter, and to spend a number of days here looking after her. It was a great comfort to me and to her to have you here, and I am deeply grateful to you for all the trouble you took.

14. Letter to P. C. Borooah, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Sibsagar, Assam.

15. Letter .

16. (b. 1905); FRCS, 1930; Professor of Surgery, Grant Medical College, Bombay; retired, 1960; worked in JJ Hospital, Bombay; founder member, Academy of Medical Sciences; associated with Jaslok Hospital. See "Eminent Indians in Medicine" in *The National Medical Journal of India*, Vol. 1 Jan-Feb 1988.

Indira is progressing. I suppose she will take some time to come back to normal health and strength. I am glad to say that she is taking adequate rest and we are keeping away visitors, as far as possible.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

251. To Dr J.C.N. Joshipura: Thanking Indira Gandhi's Doctor¹⁷

March 5, 1960

Dear Dr. Joshipura,¹⁸

Thank you for your letter of the 29th February. I am grateful to you for all the trouble you took and the help you gave in connection with my daughter's operation. Everything passed off well, and she is making good progress.¹⁹

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

252. To Zain Yar Jung: Animal Conservation Club²⁰

March 5, 1960

My dear Nawab Zain Yar Jung,²¹

I have your letter of March 1st. I am interested to know that there is a club in Andhra Pradesh whose motto is to save wild animals from extinction. I sympathise with this object and wish it success.

17. Letter.
18. (1929-2010); orthopaedic surgeon; taught at Grant Medical College, Bombay, and Sir J.J. Group of Hospitals, Bombay, 1958-78; consultant to many other hospitals including Nanavati, Breach Candy and Jaslok Hospitals.
19. Nehru also wrote a similar letter of thanks to Dr V.B. Bhargav of J.J. Hospital, Bombay, on the same day.
20. Letter.
21. Architect; Agent General of Hyderabad State under the Standstill Agreement; Minister for PWD and Railways in the Military Government, Hyderabad, 1949.

There is no chance of my going to Hyderabad on March 15th as you mention. Indeed I do not think I shall be going to Hyderabad in the foreseeable future.

I hope you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

253. To Barbara Cartland : Remembering Edwina²²

March 5, 1960

Dear Mrs. McCorquodale,²³

Thank you for your letter of March 2nd. It was good of you to write to me.

It is difficult to realise that Edwina has gone. She was so full of life and vitality and one could not associate death with her. She was here for about ten days before she went farther east and she was to return to Delhi on her way back this month. I have to remind myself often that she is not coming back. And yet, the manner of her death was typical of her. She died as she had lived, full of life and energy and devoted to the work she had undertaken.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

22. Letter.

23. Barbara Cartland also known as Mrs Hugh McCorquodale, British writer; associated with St. John Ambulance Brigade.

254. To Wilhelm Melchers: A Foreword for Mahatma Gandhi's Autobiography²⁴

March 9, 1960

My dear Ambassador,²⁵

Thank you for your letter of March 9. I am glad to learn that Mahatma Gandhi's autobiography is appearing in German.²⁶

It is difficult for me to write some special note or foreword for this edition, but you can certainly use my Foreword in Tendulkar's book *The Mahatma*.²⁷

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

255. To Ian Lyon: Oxford Visit²⁸

March 10, 1960

Dear Mr. Lyon,

Your letter of February 27th has only just reached me. I would very much like to visit Oxford if I can possibly manage it. I have not been there for many years. But it is difficult for me to fix any time for this. The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference is often so arranged with its meetings and other functions, that little time is left for anything else. All that I can say now is that it would give me pleasure to be able to visit Oxford.

But I must confess that I find the prospect of addressing the Oxford Union somewhat alarming. This may surprise you as I often indulge in public speaking. I would much prefer meeting some of the members of the Union Society and having a talk with them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

24. Letter. File No. 2 (114)/56-66-PMS.

25. Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to India, 1957-62.

26. Melchers had requested Nehru, on behalf of the publishers Karl Alber Verlag, Munich; B.F.H.B. Tyabji, the Indian Ambassador in Bonn, had supported the request.

27. For Nehru's foreword to Tendulkar's eight-volume biography, see SWJN/SS/16 Pt. I/pp. 643-646, item 22.

28. Letter to the President of the Oxford Union.

256. To Morarji Desai: Financial Distress of Mountbatten Family²⁹

March 11, 1960

My dear Morarji,

It may interest you to know that after Edwina Mountbatten's death, the family are having very considerable financial difficulties. Death Duties take away eighty per cent of the assets left. She had made a will some years ago transferring the property to her husband and her daughters. Apparently, under the English Law, a will of this kind must be made five years before death. Edwina died five weeks before the expiry of this five year period required by law. This has added to the difficulties. It has become impossible for the family to keep up their old family house, Broadlands.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

257. To B.C. Roy: Agadir Earthquake Relief Fund³⁰

March 11, 1960

My dear Bidhan,

Your letter of the 10th March about the collection of funds for the Agadir earthquake.

The Central Government has not issued any appeal for funds and it is sending many commodities to help the refugees. The African Committee of the AICC as well as the Congress Party in Parliament have opened funds.

If any private parties approach you in this matter, you can tell them that they can send their collections to me and I shall forward them. We cannot obviously associate ourselves with funds over which we may have no control.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal]

29. Letter.

30. Letter.

258. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: European Tour Programme³¹

March 11, 1960

Nan dear,

I have just received your letter of the 9th March.

I shall, of course, gladly go to Broadlands in the course of a week-end. I propose to reach London on the 1st May morning at about 10 or 10-30. The Air India International people have slightly changed the date of departure of their Boeing to suit my convenience. I intend leaving Bombay by the Boeing on the night of the 30th April and 1st May or, to be precise, at 1 A.M. on the 1st May, reaching London about 10-30 A.M. the same day. If, as they might, they drop stopping at Paris, then we might reach London at 9-30 A.M.

I had, at first, rather toyed with the idea of visiting one or two countries on my way back from England. I had no European countries in view, but I had been anxious to go to some places in Africa. Now I do not feel in the mood for this, and also the problems of India draw me and do not give me much peace.

So far as Europe is concerned, there is no particular country that I wish to visit and also there will be the Summit Conference soon after which will come in the way of any such visit. De Gaulle, however, has been pressing me to pay him a brief visit just to meet him. It is conceivable, though perhaps not likely, that I might go over to Paris for a day to meet him during my stay in London.

I received your telegram conveying a message from Dickie about the "Edwina Mountbatten Fund" being started.³² I suppose that was for my information only and I am not supposed to do anything about it. When the Fund is started, we shall try to help in getting contributions from India.

I have just seen a brief telegram from India House referring to your letter of the 23rd February about the Law of the Sea. I think that our Ministry here has already sent you a copy of a letter I wrote to President Eisenhower on this subject. This gives briefly our broad views on the subject. I am, however,

31. Letter. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection. Copied to SG.

32. The telegram of 9 March read: "It is intended to start a fund in memory of Countess Mountbatten of Burma to be called the 'Edwina Mountbatten Trust'. The Trust will be for the world wide benefit of the three main causes to which she devoted her life, Saint John's Ambulance Brigade, Save the Children Fund and the Nursing Profession. Viscount Monckton will be the Chairman. The appeal will be made worldwide to people in all walks of life."

adding a note to this letter summarising those views for your information.³³ This note is being written from memory without any papers, and cannot be, considered a comprehensive note on the subject. You may speak on these lines to Lord Home.

Day after tomorrow is Holi. It is going to be rather a dismal affair, so far as we are concerned.

Love

Jawahar

259. To Humayun Kabir: Mohammed Tahir and Maulana Azad³⁴

12th March, 1960

My dear Humayun,

Your letter of the 11th March about the action Mohd. Tahir³⁵ has taken in regard to some monies left by Maulana Azad. I am surprised to learn of this. We spoke about it on more than one occasion and I thought that it was agreed that this money cannot be treated as private funds. What you have written to Mohd. Tahir is quite correct. Please keep me informed of developments in this matter.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

33. See items 198 and 199.

34. Letter.

35. Member, Bombay Legislative Council, and son-in-law of Maulana Azad's sister Fatima Begum.

260. To S.K. Patil and Panjabrao S. Deshmukh: Khrushchev's Gift of Cattle and Sheep³⁶

12th March, 1960

[My dear S.K./Deshmukh,]

The Soviet Ambassador came to see me today and said that Mr. Khrushchev had instructed him to present to us four head of cattle and fifteen sheep. These have been displayed here at the Agriculture Fair. They are all prize winners and valuable. The sheep are full of wool at present which may be shorn.

I have told him to get into touch with Panjabrao Deshmukh and hand them over to him for our Agriculture Department who will make proper provision for them.

These animals will, of course, be kept in proper climate suitable to them. I imagine that it would be better to keep the cattle and the sheep in groups together and not to spread them out. This will enable them to be used for breeding purposes.

The Soviet Ambassador also said that he was asked to present to us, if we had no objection, a Soviet jeep to be used at the Suratgarh Farm. I told him that we would, welcome this gift. This may also be taken by our Agriculture Department and sent on to Suratgarh.

The Ambassador also presented on behalf of Mr. Khrushchev to me personally a horse and a cow. These have been displayed in the Soviet Pavilion at the World Agriculture Fair and represent, I was told, the best breeds of the Soviet Union. I am thinking of asking Rashtrapati Bhavan to keep both the horse and the cow. The horse can be looked after by the President's Bodyguard. The cow can be kept there for the use of the President and others. I was told that the cow gives 80 lbs. of milk daily.

I thanked the Soviet Ambassador for these gifts.

[Yours sincerely]

Jawaharlal Nehru

36. Letter. Copied to SG and FS.

261. To V.K. Krishna Menon: Khrushchev's Gift of Animals³⁷

The Soviet Ambassador came to see me today and informed me that his Government wished to present to us four head of cattle and fifteen sheep. These are prize animals which have been displayed at the Agriculture Fair. I have told him to pass them on to our Agriculture Department.

2. He also said that he was asked to present to us a Soviet jeep to be specially used at the Suratgarh Farm.

3. Mr Khrushchev personally has presented to me a horse and a cow, both of which have been in the Soviet Pavilion at the Agriculture Fair. I am sending the horse to Rashtrapati Bhavan to be looked after by the President's Bodyguard. The cow is also being sent to Rashtrapati Bhavan. All these animals represent the best breeds of the Soviet Union. The cow is supposed to yield 80 lbs. of milk every day.

4. The Ambassador also told me that he wished to present a horse to our Defence Minister. I said that I was sure he would accept this gift with thanks, although I was not likely to use the horse himself. I suppose the horse can be sent to the army for breeding purposes.

262. To Sardar Harnarain Singh: Khrushchev's Gift of Animals³⁸

The Soviet Ambassador came to me today and informed me that his Government had presented to us four cows and twelve sheep which had been displayed in the Agriculture Fair. They are prize winners of very good quality. I have asked him to hand them over to our Agriculture Department which will no doubt arrange for their stay in a cooler climate. They may be used for breeding purposes.

2. He then mentioned to me that Mr. Khrushchev had made a personal gift to me of a horse and a cow. Both these had also been displayed in the Agriculture Fair. I told him that there was no question of my accepting personal gifts although I was grateful to Mr. Khrushchev. Both the horse and the cow will be considered Government property. Both of them are of high quality and,

37. Note to the Defence Minister, 12 March 1960.

38. Note to the Military Secretary to the President, 12 March 1960.

I am told, the best that Russia has. The cow is supposed to give 80 pounds of milk every day.

3. I think the horse had better be sent to the Defence Stud Farm where it could be profitably used.

4. The cow is not likely to prosper during the Indian summer. It will have to be sent to some better climate where there is a Government cattle farm or dairy. I am told there is some such farm in Simla. Perhaps that might suit it. Meanwhile, it has to be taken charge of and well looked after. I would suggest, subject to the President's approval, that the cow might be kept at Rashtrapati Bhavan for the time being. Its milk could be used by the President and his family. Some of the milk might be sent to our house. I presume that adequate arrangements can be made for the cow to be looked after properly at the Rashtrapati Bhavan.

263. To M.C. Davar: Travelling to Bhind and Morena³⁹

12th March 1960

Dear Shri Davar,

Your letter of the 11th March. I do not know what facilities you require for your visit to the Bhind, Morena etc. area. This area involves two states, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. I suggest that before you go there, you might meet the Chief Minister of the State concerned and discuss the matter with him. Perhaps he will be able to indicate what steps you should take.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

39. Letter. M. C. Davar Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

264. To S.R. Das: Kshiti Mohan Sen's Death⁴⁰

March 14, 1960

My dear Vice-Chancellor,

I have your letter of March 12, informing me of the passing away of Shri Kshiti Mohan Sen.⁴¹ You were good enough to send me this information by telegram and I replied expressing my grief.⁴² It is indeed a great loss to Visva-Bharati and to his many friends that a person so intimately connected with Visva-Bharati should pass away.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

265. To Nimai Chatterji: Returning Pasternak's Letter⁴³

March 14, 1960

Dear Shri Chatterji,⁴⁴

I have your letter of 29th February in which you ask me for the return of the letter Boris Pasternak wrote to you. Pasternak's letter was forwarded to me by our High Commissioner in London. I did not know that you wanted it back. Now that you have expressed a desire to have it back, I am sending it to you.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

40. Letter to the Vice Chancellor, Visva-Bharati.

41. Educationist and scholar, former Vice-Chancellor, Visva-Bharati.

42. On 13 March, Nehru sent the following message: "I am grieved to learn from your telegram that Pandit Kshitimohan Sen Sastri died yesterday. Please accept my sympathy and condolences. I shall be grateful if you will also convey my condolences to his family."

43. Letter.

44. (1933-2010): collector of literary memorabilia, writer and broadcaster with BBC, died in London.

266. To Louis Gibarti: Aid⁴⁵

March 14, 1960

My dear Gibarti,⁴⁶

I have received your letter of March 4 with its enclosures, which I have read with interest.

I do not understand what you mean by some kind of mass aid, of course, is welcome, but conditions must not be too onerous and the time for repayment should not be too short.

I shall be going to London for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference at the beginning of May. There was some talk of my going to Paris to meet de Gaulle, but I rather doubt if this will come off. That will be just the time when the Summit Conference is likely to meet.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

267. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Edwina Mountbatten's Personal Effects⁴⁷

March 14, 1960

[Nan dear,]

Your letter of March 10th about Edwina's belongings. I have had these checked up again and I enclose a note by Rajan.⁴⁸ Apparently most of the things included in the list you sent me have been found as they were differently described in our list. There are only three articles which have not been found. These are Green Chiffon stole, White linen dress and belt, and Royal blue ski pants.

On the other hand, there are some additional articles in our list which were not mentioned in your list. I am enclosing the new note by Rajan as well as a copy of the old.

45. Letter.

46. Louis Gibarti, a Hungarian communist and secretary of the organizing committee of the Congress against Imperialism; Nehru met him again at the Asian-African Conference at Bandung in April 1955.

47. Letter.

48. M.V. Rajan, Personal Assistant to Nehru.

The papers are being sent by air freight. The rest, including the pressure cooker, are being shipped.⁴⁹

I had a letter from you today in which you mention the presents for Princess Margaret. I shall consult Indu, but can you make any suggestions? We shall of course give her something but I do not see why we should go very much out of our way for it. I do not like jewellery and anything worthwhile is very expensive. Would a good Kashmiri shawl do?

Indu is progressing. She walks about a little in the house, gets tired easily. Mostly she remains in bed. She has not yet made up her mind about accompanying me to England.

Yours,

Jawahar

268. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: People to Meet⁵⁰

March 16, 1960

[Nan dear,]

I have just received your letter of the 14th March.

I have no particular desire to meet any special persons. I leave this entirely to you.

But I would like to meet Dickie, Patricia and Pamela soon after my arrival. As I expect to reach London on the 1st May forenoon, you could perhaps fix some time for me to call on them in the afternoon or evening of the same day.

[Love

Jawahar]

49. See also SWJN/SS/57/item 253.

50. Letter.

269. To Jagjivan Ram: Building Bridges⁵¹

18th March, 1960

My dear Jagjivan Ram,

I enclose a letter I have received from Rane⁵² who has written to you also. But what is more interesting is the letter addressed to me by the large number of boys and girls of the school at Pachora. Whatever your strict rules might be about building bridges on the railway line, I do not see why they should come in the way of such a request. I hope you will have this matter examined afresh.⁵³

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

270. To Amrit Kaur: Collecting for the Edwina Mountbatten Trust⁵⁴

18th March, 1960

[My dear Amrit Kaur,]

Your letter of March 17th about making an appeal for "The Edwina Mountbatten Trust."

Dickie Mountbatten had informed me of this trust being started. I have been waiting to have more particulars of it. I thought that any premature move on our part without knowing more about it would not be desirable. I suggest, therefore, that we wait for these particulars and then a proper effort should be made for these collections. Otherwise, the business of collections will suffer.

[Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru]

51. Letter.

52. S.R. Rane, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Buldhana, Maharashtra.

53. Nehru wrote to Rane also on the same day acknowledging his letter of 16 March along with a representation from the students of the Pachora High School; and that he was enquiring from the Railway Minister about it.

54. Letter.

271. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: A Request from Wadham College⁵⁵

March 18, 1960

[Nan dear,]

I find a letter in my papers which has remained unanswered. I do not quite know who the writer is except that he writes from Wadham College, Oxford. You may please have a letter sent to him informing him that I have received his letter and I appreciate it. I regret, however, that I cannot address his organisation. We are, of course, wholly against racial intolerance, but I feel that I should not take part in such demonstrations in another country.

[Love

Jawahar]

272. To K.S. Ramanujam: Respect for Your Father⁵⁶

March 19, 1960

Dear Ramanujam,

I have your letter of the 13th March.

You refer in this to what Shri T.T. Krishnamachari had apparently said. Shri TTK's informant was wrong. Although I am not a member of the Congress Central Parliamentary Board, I happened to be present there when some names from Madras were being considered. I do not think Shri Dhebar or anyone else said anything that might be considered derogatory to your father, whom we all respect and have affection for.

In these matters when a number of names are put forward for a few places and some choice has to be made, this does not mean the slightest disrespect to anyone who is not for the moment chosen.

I can assure you that ever since the old Nabha days, I have had affection and respect for your father. I know of his absolute integrity in public affairs.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

55. Letter.

56. Letter to Ramanujam, Representative and Correspondent in Madras, *The Hindustan Times*.

273. To T. T. Krishnamachari: Indira Gandhi's Health⁵⁷

March 19, 1960

My dear T.T.,

I am sorry for the slight delay in answering your letter.

Indira had an operation performed on her about a month ago. It was a major operation involving the taking out of a stone from inside her. She has been back at home, but her recovery is rather slow and she spends practically all the time in bed.

About Ramnath, I am speaking to Morarji Desai.

You are right. I am keeping fairly well, but I confess that a feeling of tiredness creeps in upon me.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

274. To Ellen Roy: M. N. Roy Manuscripts⁵⁸

March 20, 1960

Dear Ellen,

I have received your letters of March 10th⁵⁹ and 12th and the report about the manuscripts by M.N. Roy.

You took up a brave attitude with the Rockefeller Foundation. But it is a fact that it is no easy matter to arrange for any considerable funds here. Something might be done, but I rather doubt if that will amount to very much. You have not given any indication of what kind of help you require. The National Book Trust is especially meant for the production of cheap classics and the like and I doubt if they could take this up. Normally such a work should be undertaken by a University, but in India all the Universities are very poor. The Prime Minister's Relief Fund and the like funds are meant for specific purposes and cannot be used otherwise. What kind of response you are likely to have to a fund, I do not know. But, having some experience in raising such memorial funds, I am not very hopeful. However, it may be worth trying.

57. Letter to T.T. Krishnamachari, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Madras South, Madras State. T.T. Krishnamachari Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

58. Letter to Mrs M.N. Roy. File No. 40(163)/58-62-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

59. See Appendix 22.

Anyhow let me know what the immediate requirements might be.

As for the tax exemption, I am enquiring about it. But as you have not started the fund, this is rather premature.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

275. To Louis Mountbatten: Visit to Broadlands⁶⁰

March 21, 1960

[My dear Dickie,]

Your letter of the 16th March has just reached me. Thank you for it. I would very much like to pay a visit to Broadlands. I am afraid this will not be possible in the week-end beginning on the 7th May. I hope, however, to come during the next week-end, that is, on 13th or 14th May. I would not like to miss this opportunity of visiting Broadlands and seeing you and the family there.

I expect to reach London on the 1st May at about 10-30 A.M. If you are in London then and are free, I should like to come over and see you in the afternoon or in the evening.

Nan sent me the Archbishop's address at the Memorial Service in Westminster Abbey. It is indeed a moving and beautiful address.

About the Edwina Mountbatten Trust Fund, I should like to know from you or from those who are organising the fund as to how they would like us to proceed in India. There will surely be many people who would like to contribute to the fund from India. Amrit Kaur wrote to me suggesting that the Red Cross might take this up. That could certainly be done, but I think a wider appeal should also be made here. I would gladly help in this if you think it right for me to do so.

[Yours,
Jawaharlal]

276. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Personal Matters⁶¹

21st March, 1960

[Nan dear,]

Your letter of the 16th March about my visiting Broadlands.⁶² I have already written to you that I want to visit Broadlands. As far as I can see, it will be difficult to find time for it during the earlier part of my stay in London. Probably the only suitable time will be the week-end from the 13th May onwards. You may certainly book that for Broadlands and I shall gladly spend a day or two days there. That will practically be the end of my stay in England as I do not wish to prolong it unnecessarily.

In addition to this, I would certainly like to go to Wilton Crescent. I want first to call on Dickie and the girls. Later they can invite me to a meal at Wilton Crescent.

If you so like, you can have a small dinner party for friends. I have no objection at all to it. But let it be a small one.

It is over a month now since Indu had had her operation. Her wounds are healing up fairly well and there is nothing wrong with her. Still she is not recovering as fast as we had hoped and expected. She is very weak and gets tired easily. She gets out of the bed in the mornings for a little time and sits in the garden in the afternoons but mostly she is in bed. I suppose this is the reaction of the tremendous strain and hard work she had to put in in the last year and before her operation. She cannot make up her mind as to whether she should go to England or not with me. It is important, I think, that she should get out of the country and I shall induce her to do so. I am telling her that she need not worry about official programmes there. It is not necessary for her to attend these official functions. She can stay on in England after I leave or go anywhere else by herself for rest. She would like to be back anyhow by the first week of June when the children have their holidays. I hope she will come.

For two years now, Indu has been invited repeatedly and pressingly by various people in the United States, more particularly the John D. Rockefellers. She has been wanting to go there and at one time thought on going on to America from England. But now she has given up that idea. Anyhow, all this can be kept open. The point is that she should go with me to England and then stay on or go where she likes and spend about five weeks in this way.

61. Letter.

62. See Appendix 35.

Amrit Kaur wrote to me two or three days ago suggesting that she and her Red Cross might appeal for subscriptions to the "Edwina Mountbatten Fund". I replied to her that before we make formal appeals of this kind here, we should have some more definite information from the sponsors of this fund as to what they would like us to do. Except for the telegram you sent me, conveying Dickie's message, we have had no further information. You might find out from Dickie or Monckton or others concerned what they would like us to do in India about this fund. There is no doubt that many people would like to contribute to it though I cannot say whether the total sum collected will be very large.

[Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

277. For Paul Geheeb: Birthday Greetings⁶³

I send my greetings and good wishes to Paul Geheeb⁶⁴ on the occasion of his attaining the age of 90 years. His life and his work has brought joy to large numbers of children and young people who, on their part, have given him their affection. There can be no richer experience than to give and receive love. That is the truest foundation for the peace we strive for.

278. To Ashok Garware: No Time to Visit Cambridge⁶⁵

March 22, 1960

Dear Shri Garware,⁶⁶

I have just received your letter of the 18th March. It is always a pleasure to visit Cambridge and, more especially, to meet my fellow countrymen there. I am afraid, however, that this may not be possible during my forthcoming visit to England. The programmes drawn up there are very heavy.

I have partly agreed to visit Oxford and meet the members of the Oxford Union Society there. Even that is rather difficult. To add another engagement

63. Message forwarded to Mrs. Edith Geheeb, 22 March 1960. Copied to Indira Gandhi.

64. (1870-1961); German educational reformer, supported boarding school movement.

65. Letter.

66. (b. 1938); Chairman, Global Offshore Services Ltd; President, Cambridge University India Society, Jesus College, Cambridge, at this time.

outside London is hardly possible now. You will, I hope appreciate my difficulty.
With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

279. To Leon Gutterman: Honour from *Wisdom*⁶⁷

March 22, 1960

Dear Mr. Gutterman,⁶⁸

Thank you for your cablegram which I received three days ago.⁶⁹ I am grateful for the message it contains and for the honour that the Board of Editors of *Wisdom* magazine have done me. To be so chosen and to be put in company with the previous distinguished recipients of this award is indeed a high privilege.

The personal distinction which you have conferred upon me naturally pleases me, even though I might doubt the possession of any great deal of wisdom. But what I appreciate even more is the tribute you have paid to India, not only for the ideals she has held in the past, but also for the great adventure in which her people have been engaged during the last ten years or more.

Your proposal to publish a special issue of *Wisdom* magazine dealing with India is very welcome. I am sure it will help in increasing understanding between the peoples of India and the United States.

As suggested by you, I have informed our Ministries concerned about your proposal to bring out a special issue and have requested them to give you such help as they can.

Thanking you again and with all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

67. Letter.

68. President and Publisher of *Wisdom* Magazine, California, USA.

69. See Appendix 40.

280. To Jivaraj Mehta: Manubehn Gandhi's Difficulties⁷⁰

March 23, 1960

My dear Jivaraj,

I am enclosing a copy of a letter from Manubehn Gandhi.⁷¹ For years, she has been writing to me asking me to help her in getting a small house to live in. I have forwarded her letters to Yeshwantrao Chavan, who has promised to do his best. But nothing has thus far been done.

Manubehn has been doing very good work, and touring about on behalf of our Ministry of Education and speaking at schools and colleges about Gandhiji. Her visits have been greatly appreciated. If we could arrange to get a small house for her, he would help her greatly. This will be a very small recompense for all that she has been doing for our boys and girls. Could you help her in this?

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

281. To U.N. Dhebar: Help Manubehn Gandhi⁷²

March 23, 1960

My dear Dhebarbhai,

I enclose a copy of a letter from Manubehn Gandhi,⁷³ as you perhaps know, she has been doing very good work in touring about on behalf of our Ministry of Education and speaking at schools and colleges about Gandhiji. I have received many letters of appreciation about her work.

But for years she has been asking for a little house to live in, and in spite of my efforts, nothing has been done. I am now requesting you to do something if possible in this matter. I am also writing to Dr. Jivaraj Mehta.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

70. Letter.

71. See Appendix 49.

72. Letter to Dhebar, former Congress President. U.N. Dhebar Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

73. See Appendix 49.

282. To George R. Schafer: Good wishes⁷⁴

March 23, 1960

Dear Mr. Schafer,⁷⁵

I have received your letter of March 4, 1960. I am much interested in your humanitarian approach to some of the vital problems of the world. I wish you success.

But, being the Prime Minister of a country, I do not think it will be appropriate for me to associate myself with any such effort, even though I might sympathise with it. I am sending your letter to the Gandhi Peace Foundation which will, no doubt, be interested in it. They might communicate with you directly.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

283. To Walter Monckton: Preparing for Edwina Mountbatten Trust⁷⁶

March 24, 1960

My dear Lord Monckton,⁷⁷

Thank you for your letter of the 13th March.

I am sure there are many people in India who would like to contribute to the Edwina Mountbatten Trust Fund. I should of course like to do what I can to help this Fund. I did not like to take any initiative in this matter till I knew what the Trustees of the Fund would like to be done in India. I thought that perhaps they might have some special ideas on the subject as to who should organise collections. I do not know if you have given any thought to this matter. Anyhow, I would welcome your suggestions.

Yours very sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

74. Letter.

75. Chairman, Advance Organisation for the United Nations, Montreal, Canada.

76. Letter.

77. British lawyer and politician; Chairman, Edwina Mountbatten Trust Fund.

284. To C.K. Pepworth: Cannot Address Your Organisation⁷⁸

March 24, 1960

Dear Mr. Pepworth,

I have received your telegram and your letter of the 21st March. I am grateful to you for your invitation. I am afraid it will not be possible for me to accept that.

It is always difficult for me to find time when I go to England for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference which keeps us very busy. Apart from this, I have to function under some limitations, more especially when I go abroad. I do not want to make my visit a propagandist one and even less so to appeal for help for India on such an occasion.

As a matter of fact, there is a chance of my going to Oxford at the invitation of the Union Society. Even if I do so, I would prefer meeting people informally rather than delivering a formal address.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

78. Letter to Pepworth, Chairman, Oxford University Labour Club.

VI. APPENDICES

1. Humayun Kabir to Nehru¹

[Refer to item 162]

5th February, 1960

My dear Panditji,

I visited yesterday the Jalianwala Bagh Memorial and was accompanied by Shri Mahendru the Architect. Dr. Mukherjee the Secretary of the Trust was also there.

I was glad to find that the monument is now making good progress. Shri Mahendru told me that the Memorial would be ready by the 13th April, but the grounds could not be levelled and the lawns laid by that date. As such she suggested that the formal opening of the Memorial may be at a date about a month later than 13th April. During the discussions we generally thought that 15th of August might be a suitable date but I told them that the date would have to be fixed by you according to your programme.

It seems to me that even though the Memorial will be completed soon, the Trust will have to continue for some time longer in order to execute two other items of the work.

There is the well, popularly known as the Shahidon Ki Kuan within the Memorial grounds. A rather uninteresting and drab white washed structure has been built over this well. I feel that this structure should be suitably modified and faced with red sand stone in order to harmonise with the Memorial which will be in granite and red sand stone.

I saw the alignment of the Memorial and loggias through which one approaches it. If the central vistas were extended up to the main road people would be able to see the Memorial from a distance. This may mean acquiring a few houses but I feel we should do so for this national Memorial.

Yours sincerely,
Humayun Kabir

1. Letter. Humayun Kabir Papers, NMML.

2 (a). S.R. Das to C.D. Deshmukh²

[Refer to item 181]

February 14, 1960

My dear Dr. Deshmukh,

For some time past I have been thinking of strengthening our Department of English Studies. Our Head of the English Department is due to retire about the middle of this year. In case the Academic Council and the Executive Council do not extend his term, we shall have to find a suitable successor for him. I think we may try to secure an experienced teacher of English from Oxford or Cambridge or from some good American Universities. I also think that one or two English or American lady teachers of the right type, that is to say, in tune with the ideals of Gurudeva, will be very desirable and helpful in our Patha-Bhavana. The present Head of the Department contacted the British Council for assisting us in securing the services of suitable lady teachers of English. The British Council have in reply asked, amongst other things, particulars as to the salary and travelling expenses etc. that we are prepared to offer, the amount of salary sanctioned by your Commission may not be attractive to really good teachers male or female. I wonder if you could see your way to sanction a higher salary and travelling and other allowances for a really good visiting professor of English to take charge of our Department of English Studies for a period of say 3 years, renewable for another term. It would also assist us if you could sanction similarly higher terms for the two lady teachers.

If I could get the requisite sanction from you I would rather not approach any other external organisation like the Ford Foundation with a begging bowl.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
S.R. Das

2 (b). C.D. Deshmukh to S.R. Das³*[Refer to item 181]*

University Grants Commission
 Old Mill Road,
 New Delhi-2.
 March 9, 1960

My dear Shri Das,

Will you please refer to your letter No. G/E.11.1/704 of February 14, 1960, regarding the possibility of the University Grants Commission assisting the Vishwa Bharati to secure the services for a period of teachers of English from UK or USA?

We have not so far assisted by paying for the travelling expenses of such teachers for any University. The resources at our disposal are not adequate to permit of any such assistance, especially in view of foreign exchange difficulties.

We do not share your views in regard to assistance from abroad being equivalent to holding out the begging bowl. It is not at all below our dignity to take advantage of foreign assistance programmes—e.g. in the Fulbright programme or the Colombo Plan. If there is any extra local expenditure for a Professor of English so secured, the UGC could consider proposals for assisting the University.

We shall not be in a position to give any assistance towards securing teachers for the Patha-Bhavan.

We are separately considering the question whether the Patha-Bhavan can at all be treated as part of the University. So far as we are concerned Item 66 of List I of the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution, under which Parliament passed the UGC Act relates to coordination and determination of standards in institutions for higher education or research, and the Patha-Bhavan is certainly not an institution for higher education. (But where we could not help, the Ministry of Education could help).

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
 C.D. Deshmukh

3. Tribute to Edwina Mountbatten⁴

by Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit

[Refer to item 243]

It was only a short while ago that the sad news of Edwina Mountbatten's unexpected death reached me and I cannot believe that such a vital personality has slipped so quietly away from us. And yet, in a way, she died as she had lived—giving away her life in the same gentle manner in which she gave help and assistance whenever and wherever it was needed.

I have never known any one who combined so many rare qualities with the effortless grace which was Edwina's special talent—or who could perform so charmingly all the varied roles she was called upon to play.

I share with other Indians treasured memories of this gracious and gallant lady whose services to our country at a most difficult period are indelibly inscribed in countless Indian hearts.

During the period of Lord Mountbatten's Viceroyalty tragedy followed on triumph and India was an unhappy land for many weeks. It was during this spell that Edwina Mountbatten threw aside the trappings of Viceroyalty—disregarded the dictates of protocol, and followed the instincts of her own courageous spirit.

I remember one night when word came to my brother that the Jamia Millia—the National Muslim College on the outskirts of Delhi—was about to be attacked by a hostile crowd and the situation was said to be full of danger, my brother immediately jumped up from the dinner table and ordered a car to take him to the Jamia. There were protests from the senior Police officials, but in spite of these he drove away—as far as I know, without even the usual bodyguard. On arrival he found the Vicereine already there—unaccompanied—working with a group of volunteers to calm the excited people who were expecting the worst. Other incidents come to mind. Her work in the Refugee Camps—not understanding the language, she worked through the only language which is universal and never misunderstood—the language of the heart. Her tenderness and compassion for all who suffered is something which those who have seen can never forget.

At a time when the relationship between India and Britain hung by a delicate thread, when a single false step might have done grave injury to the future, Edwina's actions—so simple in their spontaneity, so statesmanlike in their

4. London, 21 February 1960. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit Papers, NMML.

effect—undoubtedly contributed to the easing of tensions and to the opening up of that friendship which is today such a valuable asset to both our countries. I was speaking to India a moment ago by telephone and it was no surprise to hear that Delhi was in mourning for a dearly loved friend.

Her personal friendship for me has been an enriching experience for which I shall always be thankful.

Edwina is no longer with us but in the words of the poet:

“A soul so fiery sweet can never die
but lives and works through all eternity”.

February 21, 1960

4. M.C. Chagla to Nehru⁵

[Refer to item 183]

Embassy of India

Washington D.C.

February 23, 1960

My dear Panditji,

You will remember I had written to you on the 23rd June, 1959 about a cheap oral contraceptive which Dr. G. Pincus was experimenting with and seeking to put on the market. In reply to that you pointed [out] that you were opposed to a field trial being held in India on women, because you were informed that such trials were not held in the United States on white women and, to put it bluntly, Dr. Pincus wanted Indian women to be the guinea pigs. You also enclosed a note by Colonel Raina in which he seems to have taken the same view.

Dr. Pincus came and had lunch with me yesterday and I bluntly put to him the reason why we were not allowing field trials in our country. He was really shocked at hearing this. He told me that this was a complete travesty of facts. It seems that this pill was produced in Massachusetts State which does not permit contraceptives to be sold or used. The result was that the field trials had to be held outside Massachusetts and field trials on American white women have been held and very successfully held in California and Chicago.

The pill is a great success in Puerto Rico and Haiti where it had been tried on a large scale and it is even now being tried in the two States in this country which I have just mentioned. The results have proved that there are hardly any secondary effects and if a child is born in a subsequent pregnancy, there is no

5. Letter. File No. 28(68)/60-71-PMS.

effect on the child. Far from there being any ill-effects, the pill results in a more regular menstruation.

What struck me as most important from the point of view of our country is that Dr. Pincus assured me that he had now come to learn that all the raw materials we would require are to be found in abundance in India itself. The cost will only be the non-recurring one of setting up the factory and importing some machinery and even this could be done through American pharmaceutical companies which are now functioning in India in partnership with Indian companies. He told me that he estimated the cost at 12 cents per person for pills which would last a month.

In view of this, don't you think that the opposition of Government to try these pills on human beings should be removed? As you know, Dr. Khanolkar is prepared to have a field trial on women in Bombay. As far as I know, Mr. J.R.D. Tata is prepared to help the scheme financially to a certain extent.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M.C. Chagla

5(a). Vaikunth L. Mehta to Nehru⁶

[Refer to item 149]

Lallubhai Park Road
Andheri
28th February 1960

Dear Shree Jawaharlalji,

In April 1958, I wrote to you when recovering from an attack of pneumonia that I would like to be relieved as Chairman of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission. You were considerate enough to ask me to continue after my period of convalescence was over. I acted according to your instructions but, now that the term of office expires on 31st March, I would repeat my request. During this period, I have found that I have not been able to do justice to the work. I have had to remain away from Bombay during the rains and I have been asked to refrain from undertaking touring in cold climates during the winter and to avoid places where there are large variations in the day and night

6. Letter. Vaikunth L. Mehta Papers, NMML.

temperatures. Definitely, this has affected my utility for the Commission and the programme committed to its care.

When I attended the Seminar at Ooty and could not stand the cold, I conveyed my difficulty to Shree Morarjibhai Desai who appreciated it, as did Shree Vinobaji when some months earlier I spoke to him at Ajmer last year. Later, I have broached the matter to Shree Lal Bahadur Shastri after he recovered from his illness. But, since he feels that I should not be allowed to "run away"—this is the phrase he used when we were together in your room in Parliament House—I would like to assure both yourself and Shree Shastriji that what I want to be relieved of is full-time responsibility as the executive head of the Commission. I shall be happy to continue on the Board and to give the best of my time to its work.

I am sending a copy of this to Shree Shastriji to whom you may kindly convey your reaction to my request.

In my discussions with Shree Shastriji, Shree Morarjibhai and Shree Vinobaji, I have suggested alternative names of persons who, in my opinion, can more appropriately be at the head of this organisation than myself.

Yours sincerely,
[V.L. Mehta]

5(b). Vaikunth L. Mehta to Nehru⁷

[Refer to item 149]

Andheri (W.R.)
March 16, 1960

Dear Shree Jawaharlalji,

I received your kind letter of 5th March while I was away from Bombay last week. In deference to your wishes, there is no option for me but to agree to serve as Chairman of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission when the Ministry makes fresh appointments on expiry of the tenure of the present Commission.

Personally, I consider this will not be to the best interests of the movement. The Evaluation Committee presided over by Dr. Gyan Chand has just submitted its report. It calls for a change in the approach, the bringing to bear on the

7. Copy of letter. Vaikunth L. Mehta Papers, NMML.

work of a new outlook, etc. This demands a mental and physical dynamism which frankly I don't possess.

Hence, though I bow to your wishes, I would plead that my acceptance of the responsibility should be for a period of one year, that is, to coincide with the end of the term of the Second Five Year Plan. That would give Government and Khadi workers time to think of alternative arrangements.

I am sending a copy of this to Shree Shastriji.

Yours sincerely,
[Vaikunth L. Mehta]

6. Hardayal Singh's Cross Examination⁸

[Refer to item 27]

Prosecution Witness 13.⁹

Hardayal Singh ASI Police Lines, Rohtak on S.A.: — In the month of September 1958 I was posted as S.I. SHO Salhawas. On 29.9.58 at Kosli I correctly

8. Extracts from the evidence and cross examination of Hardayal Singh, Assistant Sub-Inspector Police in the case of the State of Punjab Vs. Rao Kanwar Sain, 1 March 1960.

9. Abbreviations used in this item expand as follows:

Accd: accused

ASI: Assistant Sub Inspector

C Rohtak: City/Court Rohtak

CIA: Criminal Investigation Authority

DIG: Deputy Inspector General

DSP: Deputy Superintendent of Police

Ex P D: Exhibit Prosecution Document

Ex P D/1: Exhibit Prosecution Document/1

FIR: First Information Report

PS: Police Station

PSI: Prosecuting Sub Inspector

PW: Prosecution Witness

RO & AC: Read Over and Acknowledged

ruqa: letter/note

SA: Statement Acknowledged

SHO: Station House Officer

SI: Sub Inspector

SP: Superintendent of Police

statement of Ram Deva PW Ex PA: statement of Ram Deva Prosecution Witness Exhibit

Prosecution noted at "A" within the document

recorded the statement of Bahadur Singh P.W. This statement is Ex P.D. it was read over to him and he appended his signatures Ex. P.D./1 upon this statement in token of its correctness. Portions A, B to B, C. C D to D, E. to E, F to F G to G H to H, J to J and K to K were correctly recorded by me on the dictation of said Bahadur Singh. I did not add or subtract anything from whatever Bahadur Singh stated—I partly investigated this case. I had sent Ex P.D. ruqa to the P.S. for the registration of the case. I recorded the statements of the witnesses and I correctly recorded the statement of Ram Deva P.W. Ex. P.A. is its correct copy, portions A to A, B to B, C to C, D to D, E to E and F/F in this statement were correctly recorded by me, and I did not add or subtract to and from the statement of Ram Deva P.W. I had challenged the accused in this case.

Cross examination on behalf of Kanwar Sain accd.

From 12.6.58 I was SHO Salhwas upto 7.12.58 while I was SHO Salhwas, I was, of course sent for by DIG at Sirsa to know about the facts relating to case of Des Raj, who is the nephew of Kanwar Sain accused. The then DIG Ch. Ram Singh enquired from me as to why the accused Kanwar Sain was not arrested in case F I R 20 of 58 of P.S. Salhwas village known as Bahu Gholri was within my circle. On 28.9.58 a public meeting was arranged in Bahu Gholri which was presided over by Rao Barinder Singh Minister. The then S.P. Rohtak was also present. The then S.P. Rohtak informed me that my work was not satisfactory and the then S.P. praised Shri Des Raj, A.S.I. that his work was most satisfactory. Des Raj, A.S.I., Rao Barinder Singh Minister, S.P. and Inspector C.I.A. all had tea with villagers there but I did not join them there.

The present case was registered afterwards and there was no question of the P.Ws being present there in this case. The witnesses of village Khanpur against Des Raj were present there.

Q: Did you come to know during investigation that accused Kanwar Sain was present in the court at Gurgaon on the day of alleged occurrence?

As the name of the person through whom the SHO came to know is not given so the reply would be hearsay evidence which is not allowed.

On my verbal information to S.P. Rohtak at that time that there was a strong rumour that I had challaned the accused wrongly in this case the then S.P. ordered the P.S.I. Jhajjar to withdraw the case and the case was actually withdrawn.

As there was a complaint against me that I did not recover silver challkaras from the house of the accused Kanwar Sain so the DSP Shivdev Singh went to

Salhwas for the enquiry.

Rao Barinder Singh Minister told me several times that Kanwar Sain and Des Raj should be arrested.

As [At] this stage the PSI wanted to cross examine his own witness after cross examination by the accused. The defence counsel objects to this procedure. The P.S.I. is not prepared to quote any law at the moment. So the case to come up on 18-3-1960. The witness has been bound down for 18-3-1960 for his evidence.

Magistrate 1st Class

C. Rohtak

RO & AC

1.3.60

7. Morarji Desai to Nehru¹⁰

[Refer to item 53]

1st, March 1960

My dear Jawaharlal ji,

Please refer to the attached note by K. Ram regarding the case of Dr. Duraiswami, till recently in the All India Institute of Medical Sciences, which was handed over to me by you. I was waiting for a proposal from the Health Ministry before sending you my comments on this case. A proposal has now been received from them that Dr. Duraiswami, who had originally been selected for All India Institute of Medical Sciences on a scale of pay of Rs. 1300 -1800 plus Rs. 400/- non-practising allowance, should be appointed as Orthopaedic Surgeon at the Safdarjang Hospital in a scale of Rs. 1600 -2000 in the Central Health Service plus non-practising allowance of Rs.400/-. I have agreed to this proposal from the 1st June, 1959 on which date the Central Health Service was constituted. I should also like to bring the following facts to your notice.

Dr. Duraiswami was originally selected for appointment in the All India Institute of Medical Sciences. The post which he was to occupy was a post in that Institute. For certain technical reasons he was initially appointed by the Central Government and not by the Institute and by virtue of those orders continued to be a Central Government servant rather than an officer of the Institute. Because of this technical fact, he had an option later whether to join

10. Letter. File No. 2 (280)/58-66-PMS.

the service of the Institute or not. Owing to reasons with which you are familiar, he ultimately decided not to join the Institute. The Institute is, I understand, making its own separate arrangements for the recruitment of an Orthopedic Surgeon. The result is that where one appointment was intended, we shall now have two. The Institute obviously requires a post of Orthopaedic Surgeon so as to arrange its own post-graduate training in Orthopedic Surgery. It would hardly be a complete All India Medical Institute if it did not provide for such training. It would have been best if Dr. Duraiswami could have been put in charge of this training, but since for other reasons the Institute and he have decided to part Company, that obviously sensible course cannot be followed now. If the Institute has its own arrangement, I am very doubtful whether the running of a parallel course of training for post-graduate students under Dr. Duraiswami's control in the Safdarjang Hospital could at all be justified. Having regard to his eminence in the profession I have already agreed to the duplication of the appointment of Orthopedic Surgeon, but that, I feel, is as far as I can go and duplication of training facilities also, one under the control of the Medical Institute and another under the control of Duraiswami, can hardly be accepted. Apart from the financial objection to such a course, I cannot help feeling that such duplication would not be in the best interest of the medical profession either. Although I have not yet received any proposal from the Health Ministry that Dr. Duraiswami should supervise post-graduate teaching separately from the Institute, were such a proposal to be received I would hardly find it possible to accept it for the reasons explained above.

Yours sincerely,
Morarji Desai

8. B.N. Bamzai to C.R. Srinivasan¹¹

[Refer to item 12]

MINISTRY OF I & B

A prominent Urdu daily of Karachi, *Anjam*, in its issue dated the 3rd February, 1960, has published on front page a story about allegations of personal corruption against Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, proposed to be brought by Shri Sadiq on the floor of the Jammu and Kashmir Assembly on the 8th February, 1960.

11. Note, 1 March 1960. File No. KS-1/60, MHA.

English rendering of the story along with the original is placed below.

During the proceedings of the current session of the Assembly, no such resolution was moved by Shri Sadiq. There were no doubts few references to cases of mal-administration and corruption by the Opposition. In the circumstances, it appears a bit intriguing as to how such a report has been published in one of Pakistan newspapers. From what source this story has emanated, no clue is available. Here it may be of interest to know that about two months back when Shri D.P. Dhar was in Delhi, he mentioned to me in the course of a conversation that they were preparing an elaborate list of charges of corruption against Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad which would be placed before the State Assembly. I advised him against this step and suggested that if the Democratic National Conference was sure of the truth of these charges, the best course perhaps would be to bring them confidentially to the notice of the Union Government. Shri Dhar gave me an impression that he agreed with my views and would not take any rash step of bringing these charges publicly. Since then I have not met any of the Kashmir

Opposition leaders either in Delhi or in the Jammu and Kashmir State. P.M. may be interested to see.

9. Lalji Mehrotra to M.J. Desai¹²

[Refer to item 223]

Yesterday evening West Bengal Governor's Secretary telephoned extending U Nu invitation to stop-over and be Governor's guest since Khrushchev and Prime Minister were there. In view of Calcutta insistence invitation was extended immediately and was promptly accepted. Local paper *Guardian* yesterday published news describing real purpose of visit to meet Khrushchev and Prime Minister and not pilgrimage. Today U.P.I. Djakarta message indicates Khrushchev trying meet U Nu before returning Moscow. Timings of U Nu's Indian visit appear significantly preplanned. Hope Governor's invitation has Prime Minister's blessings.

12. Telegram from Indian Embassy, Rangoon, 1 March 1960. File No. 1208 (37) S.D./60, MEA.

10. Rangnath Rathi to Nehru¹³*[Refer to item 8]*

2 March 1960

Subject:— The biggest scandal in Sirpur Shares marked value of which was Rupees Twelve lacs sold for one lac during the Regime of the then Hyderabad Government.

From the proceedings of the Indian National Congress at Bangalore of this year also and also from the Press Conferences held by you from time to time, in the matter of investigation of corruption, you have been frankly and freely expressing your opinion, that you would surely investigate the cases of corruption, if tangible facts and figures are made out to you. With the above background, I am herewith submitting to you the fittest case deserving of investigation and enquiry. This case is of more importance than that of the L.I.C., the deal of which was made with Shri Haridas Mundra. Because the above matter was brought to light in the Parliament boldly, Chagla Commission investigated it; but since this case has not been exposed in the public, the details are not widely known. In fact this deal of Sirpur Paper shares is more significant than the above. I had brought this scandal to the notice of the Andhra Pradesh Government and I was hopeful that investigation was in progress and the enquiry of the same will be conducted in due course. It was hinted that I should not give out the facts relating to the said scandal to the members of the legislature. I am now feeling that the Andhra Pradesh Government is not in a mood to hold enquiry of the said deal, because the party and government officers involved is a very influential person. Even today in Hyderabad especially influence has its prominent rank.

The facts in brief of this case are that in 1953, this famous concern of Sirpur Paper Mills was taken over by Birla Brothers. The businessmen of Bombay and Calcutta during 1954 and 1955, commenced purchasing the shares of the said Mills freely from Hyderabad market. Taking chance of this situation, Birla Brothers increased the capital of the said Mill. Because, the then Hyderabad Government was having large number of shares of the said Mill, the management offered about 40,000 shares to the said Government. After those shares were purchased by the Government, she sold the renunciation forms of the said shares most confidentially and secretly to Shri Kapurchand Shirmal, Share Broker and Member and Director of the Hyderabad Stock Exchange for the paltry amount of only one lac of rupees as against the then market value of rupees twelve lacs. This deal was made by the Finance Department. I may be

13. Copy of letter; salutation and signature not available.

allowed to bring this fact to your kind attention that in Hyderabad, Hyderabad Stock Exchange existed which was controlled by the Government. In the meeting of the Board of Directors, the Members of the Government also worked as Directors, who were nominated by the Finance Department. But, the strange attitude adopted by the Finance Department was that they neither consulted their own members, who worked as one of the Directors of the said Exchange, nor did they consult any of its fifty-five Stock Exchange Members, of whom I was one. On my complaint made to the Hyderabad Government, Z-Branch C.I.D. officials were sent to Calcutta to investigate the matter and they reported that the said shares have been sold there for more than fourteen lacs of rupees in ten days after they were purchased and this has been proved. This requires to be admitted that neither the Finance Department nor the said Broker went through all the legal formalities required in dealings as per Stock Exchange Rules and Common Law. The reason behind it being corruption and conspiracy.

This big scandal was kept secret for nearly three years and from November 1955 to November 1958 both in the official circles and also in the Hyderabad Stock Exchange. Were these shares sold in the Hyderabad market, the businessmen would have known it. But they were sold in Calcutta as such there was no scope for the businessmen to know. The conspiracy was so deep-rooted that they were not even entered in the Account Books of Shri Kapurchand Shirmal. In connection with the income tax evasion of the said Kapurchand Shirmal of nearly thirty lacs of rupees, of the other similar big businessmen, I had made confidential report to the Commissioner, Income Tax, Andhra Pradesh, and also to the Central Board of Revenue, New Delhi, during 1958. In that regard, it was found necessary to collect all the data and during the collection the said scandal of Sirpur Paper Shares also came to light.

I may be allowed to bring to your kind notice that I have so far furnished cases of evasion of income tax of nearly one crore of rupees to the Commissioner, Income-Tax, Andhra Pradesh, and also the Central Board of Revenue. For your satisfaction, you may enquire from both the Government Departments. Out of the cases submitted by me, half the cases have been proved to be correct, which includes the case of Sri Kapurchand Shirmal also. The rest of the cases are still under investigation. These details, I am placing before you to impress that I have not been furnishing details of evasion of income tax due to any malice or just to harass persons. My information is quite genuine, you may enquire into.

Regarding this scandal I wrote to the Chief Minister, Andhra Pradesh, for the first time on 27-12-1958. In January, 1959, the Chief Secretary, Andhra Pradesh Government, called me to discuss the matter with him. I went to him with all the relevant record and papers and he was convinced of the said scandal.

I sent him further details required by him on 27.1.1959 with the charts of official rates etc. On 23.2.1959 I write both to the Chief Minister and Chief Secretary, Andhra Pradesh, that under the Hyderabad Stock Exchange Rules, Government was competent to recover the loss sustained by it in this deal from Shri Kapurchand Shirmal. Subsequently when I learnt that Shri Kapurchand Shirmal and the officers of the Hyderabad Govt who were involved in this affair, were trying their best to see that the enquiry should not be held, I again met the Chief Secretary. This time, the Chief Secretary found to be quite a changed person. His attitude was not as before. He of course admitted that the Government has incurred a great loss in this scandal, but asked me whether I was prepared to get the matter of corruption of the officers proved. I told him that unless the enquiry is started, how could the matters be precipitated and every detail, both for and against would be revealed only during investigation. I also found that the Chief Secretary wanted to get the matter investigated through the department, which I thought not of much use. Such matters when investigated through a Judicial Tribunal publicly, some tangle result is expected. The lesson that the public and the officers would derive as a result of such investigation will last for a couple of years at least.

For your information, I am enclosing herewith copies of the above three letters, which would give you clue as to the correctness of the matter. Any further details required by you, I shall furnish you when asked for. I have got all the details with me. I request that you will kindly make speedy arrangements and pass orders to get this scandal of the Shares of the Sirpur Paper Mill investigated and enquired thoroughly, through an independent Judicial Tribunal.

I may further be allowed to point to you the unhelpful attitude of the Government officers and also the Hon'ble Ministers of the Andhra Pradesh Government. Since, one year, I had been continuously writing the Chief Minister, Minister for Finance and also the Commerce Minister and the Chief Secretary. But, I have to regretfully mention that the Government of this place was not even courteous to acknowledge to any of my letters, which I attribute to the influence of the party that is Shri Kapurchand Shirmal and concerned officers. Howsoever, it may be, the interest of the nation and also in the interest of good and healthy administration, when a matter concerning to the profit and loss to the government is brought to the notice of the Government, not by a person having his leaning with any one of the political parties, but by one of business community, such sort of unhelpful attitude of the Government simply tortures the minds of persons who have some conscience and think well of the country. I am not placing these facts, as a matter of complaint but my intention is to exhibit upon you that the matters concerning of loss to Government and the public are required to be looked into with more attention and sympathy.

11. Rameshwari Nehru to Jawaharlal Nehru¹⁴

[Refer to item 194]

March 2, 1960

My dear

Thanks for your letter of the 16th February. I must confess that the contents of the letter surprised me because in my last letter of the 11th February I wrote to you from my personal knowledge of the attitude of most Governments to the Afro-Asian Solidarity movement at the time of the Cairo Conference. You know that I attended this conference which was held in the last week of December 1957 and the first week of January 1958. The delegations that came to this conference could be divided in 3 categories. The first category was of those delegations which had ministers and officials amongst them. To this category belonged—

(a) The delegation of Sudan led by the then Foreign Minister which included two other Ministers and was entirely an official delegation.

(b) The Ethiopian delegation which was appointed by their Foreign Minister and avowedly represented the point of view of the Government.

(c) The delegation from Tunisia which was completely officially sponsored.

(d) The delegation from Yemen led by one of the Princes which, because of its leadership, was a semi-government delegation.

In the second category were the delegations which though not entirely Government delegations, were sponsored and financed by Governments. To this category belonged—

(a) The Indonesian delegation which included several M.Ps of different parties and brought a special message from President Soekarno.

(b) The Egyptian delegation led by Col. Anwar-ul-Sadaat, one of President Nasser's closest associates and now the head of the National Union of the ruling party. Besides the leader, the delegation consisted of several leading officials and was undoubtedly officially sponsored.

(c) The delegations of Burma, Ceylon and Malaya which were financed by Government and had their governments' backing.

The third category was that of the peoples' delegations like those from Iraq, Lebanon, Kameroons [Cameroons] and many other colonial countries whose people were struggling for independence.

This was the situation at the time of the Cairo conference. Changes in the governments of some countries have taken place since then. For instance,

14. Copy of letter; salutation not available. Rameshwari Nehru Papers, NMML.

Sudan now is more or less under a military dictatorship. So I cannot tell exactly what the attitude of the Sudan Government of today would be. The present government may hold a different view but our movement which is a peoples' movement and which stands for democracy and self-determination cannot be expected to be patronised by reactionary governments or military dictatorships. We are not in favour with the Governments of the Western bloc, particularly America, and, therefore, those countries which are financially associated with the American bloc may not be very happy with our movement.

I do not know from what material it has been concluded that Ethiopia, Sudan, Morocco and some other countries are against our movement (including Egypt). My experience last year when I went to Cairo to attend the Council meeting of our movement was quite different. Even on that occasion I found that most of the countries which were represented at the conference of 1957-58 again sent their delegations of the same status for this council meeting. There did not seem to be any overt evidence of the change of attitude of these governments excepting of course perhaps Sudan or may be one or two others belonging to the same category. As for Egypt, I would like to point out that the bulk of the expenses of the permanent Secretariat at Cairo are still being defrayed by the Egyptian Government. Anwar-ul-Sadaat continues to be the President of the Council and Yusuf-ul-Sabri, a regular official of the Egyptian Government, is still the Secretary-General.

As for its being pushed on to Guinea, I would like to point out that the Egyptians in the Council were very keen that the venue of the conference this year again should be Cairo but I personally took a strong attitude and others shared my view that it was not right for us to meet in the same place again and again and our movement would be more effective if we moved on to different countries which will enable us to enlist the active cooperation of as many countries as possible, especially in Africa. We have moved on to Guinea at the invitation of the Guinea Government. All the expenses of the conference will be met entirely by that Government and free hospitality for the period of the conference will also be given by the Government to all the delegates participating in the conference. So much for the facts of which I have a personal knowledge.

Whether our movement has now come into disfavour with the governments of any countries will be definitely known from the content of the delegations attending it next month. I have a feeling that this time the response from the governments and the peoples of Africa, which is moving very fast towards freedom, will be even greater. In accordance with the colour of the changes in the governments, we might lose the cooperation of some of them while in all probability we shall gain with regard to other governments. This time I expect that from Iraq an official delegation will come. The personnel of the last

delegation from Iraq was held in disfavour by the Nurul Saeed [Nuri-el-Said] government but we cannot forget that many of the members of that delegation are now Ministers and are holding the reins of the Iraq Government. Similar is the situation with regard to Lebanon, Guinea, Ghana and, I believe, Nigeria. In a month's time when the conference takes place, the real situation will be known.

Please excuse the length of this letter but I had to explain the situation as I see it so that you may know the other side of the picture also, particularly because in your letter you have mentioned that you are still making enquiries. Our Government has the reputation of being a most progressive Government and, therefore, has a very big name throughout the world. It is expected that this progressive government will support a movement like ours which has endeared itself to the whole of Africa and all the progressive peoples and governments. I shall appeal to you to reconsider your decision and give your message, if not in the capacity of the Prime Minister, in your own personal capacity. That will be in line with the expectations which your own progressive views have raised in the hearts of all those who stand for liberty and self-determination.

The personnel of our delegation have not yet been settled. The travel expenses are very high and prohibitive. We will, therefore, not be able to take a big delegation but still some people are sure to go. I would request you kindly to be good enough to have a completely unofficial and informal talk with the delegates before they leave for Konakri. That will be of great guidance to those of us who will be representing the views of India at the conference. You gave a similar informal talk to the all-parties delegation to the Afro-Asian Youth Council last year.

I still hope to be able to convince you of the value of our movement to the principles which you hold so dear. Wherever we go and whatever we do, you can be sure, we shall always try to strengthen the great peace policies of India, which you have enunciated, and to support the great principles which you yourself have taught us.

With apologies for taking so much of your precious time and with my respectful love,

Yours,
Rameshwari Nehru

12. K.N. Katju to Nehru¹⁵

[Refer to item 67]

Bhopal,

2 March 1960

The Nawab of Bhopal died on the 4th of February, 1960. He has left behind two widows known as the Senior Begum and the Junior Begam, and three daughters by the senior Begum. The eldest, Princess Abida Sultana, has been residing in Karachi ever since 1950 and has become a Pakistani national. The second daughter, the Begum of Pataudi (Nawabzadi Sajida Sultana) resides in Delhi. The youngest daughter (Nawabzadi Rabis Sultana) lives in Bhopal with her husband, Major Nadir Mirza Agha.

Under the Agreement executed before the merger between the Nawab of Bhopal and the Government of India dated the 30th April, 1949, it was provided in Article VII that succession to the Bhopal State shall be governed by, and regulated in accordance with, the provisions of the Act known as "The Succession to the Throne of Bhopal Act of 1947" then in force in the State. The Government of India further agreed that all the rights and privileges secured by the Agreement to the Nawab shall be continued to his successor. Section 6 of this "Succession to the Throne of Bhopal Act" provides that "When a ruler dies leaving no son but leaving a surviving daughter or daughters, the daughter or in case of more daughters than one, the eldest daughter shall succeed." Under this section 6, therefore, the eldest daughter Princess Abida Sultana would succeed to the Bhopal State. I may mention here that Princess Abida Sultana was known and styled as the heir-apparent to her father, the Nawab of Bhopal, though—I cannot say definitely whether she had been appointed by the Nawab as an heir to the throne under Section 10 of the Act.

Section 2 of the "Succession to the Throne of Bhopal Act, 1947" lays down certain disqualifications for any person claiming to succeed to the throne. *Inter alia* Sec. 2 provides that "no person shall succeed to the throne of Bhopal State

(f) who is of unsound mind, or

(g) who on a public trial has been found guilty of rebellion, sedition, conspiracy against the ruler, or a crime involving moral turpitude, and the conviction has been upheld by the highest court of judicature of the State."

Under this Bhopal Act, the eldest daughter, Princess Abida Sultana, is clearly an heir to her father, the Nawab of Bhopal, and is entitled to succeed him. Her

15. Copy of letter; salutation and signature not available.

two younger sisters have no right or claim to succeed. The disqualifications mentioned above under section 2 of the Act do not apply to the present case.

Article 366(22) of the Constitution says "Ruler" in relation to an Indian State means the Prince, Chief or other person by whom, any such covenant or agreement was entered into with the Government of India, and or one who for the time being is recognised by the President as a successor of such ruler. Article 362 directs that due regard shall be had to the guarantee or assurance given under any such covenant or agreement as is referred to in clause (1) of Article 291 with respect to the personal rights, privileges and dignities of the Ruler of an Indian State. Article 363 of the Constitution says that any dispute arising out of any provision of a treaty, agreement, covenant was not justiciable though it will be open to the President under Article 143 to refer to any such question to the Supreme Court for its opinion. Article 291 of the Constitution guarantees the payment of the Privy Purse.

The legal right of Princess Abida Sultana to succeed to her father is undoubted. The only question now is whether the President will, under Article 366(22), recognise her as the successor of her father. The President may refuse to do so because of her wants of Indian nationality or any other reason. If the President declines to recognise, then it is quite clear that that would not interfere with the right of the eldest daughter Princess Abida Sultana to be an heir to her father. She will be entitled to a share in her father's personal private property as defined by the Mohammadan Law applicable to the parties. Non-recognition by the President would not, in my opinion, confer any right on the second or the third daughter to claim to be a successor to her father. This question of recognition is a matter entirely personal to Princess Abida Sultana. Non-recognition will deprive Princess Abida Sultana of any right to claim payment of Privy Purse and nothing more. It seems to me that there is nothing in the Agreement between the Nawab of Bhopal and the Government, nor in the Constitution, which makes it obligatory on the President to recognise someone else as a successor and thus continue the payment of Privy Purse forever. It is first to be determined who is the successor in accordance with the Agreement between the Ruler and the Govt. of India, and when that question is decided, then the question of recognition or non-recognition is entirely a matter between the legal and nearest heir and the President. As I read the Constitution and the Agreement, there is no obligation on the President, nor would it be right for him, to recognise someone other than the nearest heir as the successor to the deceased. The President is not bound under the Constitution to continue to pay the Privy Purse on the death of the Ruler to any other individual even though he may be a younger child or some other more distant heir. If the Ruler's heir is held not qualified to recognition, there the matter should end, and the payment

of Privy Purse should automatically cease. There should, under no circumstances, be two heirs to the deceased Ruler—one the nearest under the law being entitled to the personal assets of the deceased, and the other, and a more distant one, held entitled to the Privy Purse, as a successor to the Ruler. The non-recognition of Princess Abida Sultana by the President as a successor to her father would not, in my opinion, operate, so to say, as her civil death—so as to open succession to claim the Privy Purse—either to her younger sister or to her son. That son, I may add, is about 26 years of age and is also a Pakistani national. He is a government officer there. Non-recognition of Princess Abida Sultana may be a permanent one, or the question may be considered after lapse of time—if the circumstances so demand.

It may be that on political considerations while the Indian States were functioning and were being recognised by the British Government as principalities, kingdoms or political entities, the British Government found it expedient to keep the States intact, and to put someone on the Gaddi and to recognise him as the Ruler of the State and to rule over it. But the States as such distinct physical geographical entities have now ceased to exist and the matter is entirely governed by the Constitution about the recognition of the so-called Ruler and his claim to Privy Purse.

I sent a letter on the 20th of February, 1960, to Shri Pantji about this matter and I am enclosing a copy thereof herewith for your perusal and information.

13 (a). Freda M. Bedi to Nehru¹⁶

[Refer to item 212]

c/o Camp Commandant,
MISAMARI Tibetan Camp,
Distt. Darrang,
Assam,
3 March

Dear Panditji,

Happy Tibetan New Year! Misamari refugees have had a lot of happiness in celebrating it, in spite of their tragic 1959.

Yesterday, the representatives of the Venerable Lamas and monks of the famous monasteries of Sera, Ganden and Drepung living in Misamari came to

16. Letter. File No. 29(78) BST/59, MEA.

me with a request that their wishes be made known of the Government and to you, as they have faith in your understanding of their problems. There are 1000 and more of these monks in Misamari, excluding the 500 listed for Buxa, all of whom may not find seats there.

Sometimes I wish you would see the Buxa Camp for monks & lamas, and the Misamari transit camp, as I feel you would instinctively realise the major unsolved policy problems here on the spot.

I am appending a fuller explanation of points with this letter—but I wish to make a personal appeal to you to consider or reconsider Govt. policy on the following two points:

1) that we should remove the label “Bomdila deserters” and give back confiscated Registration cards to those who were forced to leave their work last year due to the rain washing away the road and stopping the food supplies & PWD & shelter difficulties. I feel it is not worthy of Govt. to be vindictive when the refugees have already suffered as much in Tibet. We should be big hearted.

2) We should remove the ideas from our minds that those who do not offer to do road work are lazy. They maybe and are in 99% case—eager and willing to work on land in a settled Community.

3) Roadwork is heaving, exhausting, and nomadic, it is utterly unsuited to monks who have lived for long years in settled monastic communities. They can’t “take it”, any more than could our lecturers, or officials, or Ashramites, or university faculties and students. Let us face that fact, and make more determined efforts to rehabilitate them in their own groups on land.

4) We are not trying seriously or systematically to send them to educational institutions or to teach them English or Hindi or the provincial regional languages, without which they cannot be suitably rehabilitated. A small number should be sent now so that they can, after about 1-2 years, return to their monasteries—farms and teach the others.

5) Govt. should realise that after the Govt. total responsibility for 700 monks in Dalhousie and 1500 monks in Buxa is met, we still have to help another 2-300 monks to stand on their own feet. This figure includes the 1200 and upwards monks in Misamari, new arrivals who will be coming in through NEFA for months yet, and the other 1500 refugees outside Govt. camps and in a pitiable condition in Kalimpong-Darjeeling area.

Panditji, I am specially asking your help as I do not want a residue of over one thousand unhappy lamas and monks to be left on our hands when Misamari closed. Nor do I want to hear totally unfair statements that “they won’t work.” I am sure you will help to clarify matters in Delhi.

With love and respects,

Sincerely,
Freda M. Bedi

13 (b). S. Dutt to Nehru¹⁷

[Refer to item 212]

I am sorry that owing to other preoccupations I was not able to deal earlier with P.M.'s note (flag Y). The note immediately below (flag U) will give P.M. an idea of the problem that we have to deal with now. There are about 14,000 refugees already on our hands, and more are coming in. At Missamari itself there are 4,000 refugees. The Missamari Camp was supposed to be purely a temporary camp and in fact it has since been decided to wind it up at the earliest possible time. Our military authorities require this area for their purposes. The question, therefore, is of finding accommodation for the refugees who are now in the camp at Missamari.

2. It is true that our arrangements for the education of Tibetans, particularly of the children, are not satisfactory. It will be appreciated, however, that satisfactory arrangements are not feasible in purely temporary camps which have to serve as transit camps more or less. As P.M. is aware, we have been making persistent efforts to find permanent homes for the refugees, but we are nowhere near solving the problem despite the cooperation of the West Bengal Government (Buxa Camp) and the Punjab Government (Dalhousie and Dharamsala). It was thought that the best course would be to find employment for these refugees wherever such employment is available. This would give us some time to look round and make more or less permanent arrangements for their accommodation and rehabilitation. It was with that view that many of the refugees were diverted to roadwork in the NEFA, Sikkim and now in the Pathankot area. Mrs. Bedi complains that we have been hard on the Lamas. There are various grades of Lamas, from the highly spiritual ones—the incarnate Lamas—to those who merely serve as attendants. Our information now is that having found life relatively easy, i.e. without any compulsion to do any work, in camps, many ordinary people who would otherwise have to earn their living by work, are taking to beads and putting forward claims as Lamas. I feel that some pressure should be brought to bear on this kind of people to do some useful work. I am told that no one from the Missamari Camp was compelled to

17. Note, 28 March 1960. File No. 29(78) BST/59, MEA.

go out for roadwork. Quite a few, however, volunteered, but after a few days they returned to the camp. No action was taken against them. They volunteered for the second time and were transported to the work sites, but once more they deserted the work camps and drifted back to Missamari. It was at this stage that pressure was brought to bear on them and they were told that if they wanted to go on like that they would be denied rations in the camp. Our scale of assistance to the Tibetan refugees has been much more generous than for the refugees from East Pakistan. In fact, the rations which they get are as good as the rations we give to the Assam Rifles Battalion. This came to my notice only recently. I feel that, while we should treat the refugees with sympathy, we should not appear to treat them with such generosity that there would be an encouragement to them to continue as such and not secure useful employment. Similarly, we have to take precautions to see that the position of Lamas is not abused by those who are not really entitled to it. These Lamas will present a problem to us, for, as far as I can see, all their lives they will be more or less dependent on government assistance.

3. Nevertheless we should take more vigorous steps to provide for the education of the children. Various schemes are under consideration and a beginning has been made with some. May I respectfully suggest that it would save P.M. trouble if Mrs. Bedi would bring the difficulties of the refugees to the notice of the Ministry in the first instance?

14. N. Raghavan to S. Dutt¹⁸

[Refer to item 45]

In view of urgency indicated in Foreign letter no. D.881/EUR(W)/60 of 18th/19th February which apparently only left Delhi on 25th February we are contacting Counsel but would draw attention to following points. Firstly we understand that this and one Andre Sandanassamy's matter also recently received from Pondicherry Government appears to be first of such references this Embassy has had for instituting proceedings in Paris Cour de Cassation. Assuming this is an innovation we trust it has been carefully considered as (a) once it becomes known such proceedings are possible may open flood gates for such appeals to Paris and (b) apart from purely legal aspects it also has political implications. For example at times we are anxious to have French Government complete de jure transfer of Pondicherry by necessary political

18. Telegram, Indian Embassy, Paris, 4 March 1960. File No. 32-1/60-GP, MHA.

handling of diehard opposition to liquidation of French Empire our sponsoring of appeals against judgement of Pondicherry Magistrates to Paris Cour of Cession may weaken position and give impression locally of territory not really having been handed over to us and arouse desires in circles eagerly looking for opportunity to recover it.

Secondly brief sent with Foreign's letter is confusing and appears somewhat inaccurate. Grateful for clearer brief.

Thirdly 50 thousand Francs earmarked for proceedings appear quite insufficient.

15. Tara Singh to Nehru¹⁹

[Refer to item 28]

Sikh Missionary College,
Amritsar,
March 6, 1960

My dear Panditji,

On February 16th last, I ventured to send you a letter, to which I have not been lucky enough to get a reply. In the meantime, may I inform you that the Punjab Government is going ahead with its policy of creating a situation that will bring about a crisis between the Sikhs and the Government on the one hand, and tension between the Sikhs and Hindus on the other. As I have already avoided conflicts, if I can help it, and as a well wisher of the country, I consider it my duty to bring this fact to your notice.

Today's papers contain an announcement by the Punjab Chief Minister, about the appointment of yet another representative committee of 26 members with Governor as Chairman to solve the "language problem". The terms of reference of this Committee are:-

- (1) to consider the recommendations of the Good Relations Committee, and
- (2) to recommend to the State Government measures necessary for a satisfactory solution of the language problem and to suggest a programme for implementing the recommendations.

This is the second attempt of its kind. The first one was made in the beginning of 1959, when S. Partap Singh formed a Committee consisting of Bhai Jodh Singh and Pt. Jai Chand Vidyalkar. The name "Good Relations"

19. Letter.

was a mere camouflage, under which the real object of the Committee, that of carrying on propaganda against Gurmukhi script at state expense was hidden. Thus you see one attempt after the other is being made to reopen questions settled at Central Government levels. This is clearly in utter disregard of provisions of the Regional Formula.

The Regional Formula was a political settlement between the Government of India on one side, and the Shiromani Akali Dal, representing an important minority, the Sikhs, on the other. Its clause[s] 9, 10 and 11 clearly lay down, that Sachar Formula will continue to operate in the then Punjab State, and arrangements in Pepsu State would continue as they then existed, until these were replaced or altered by agreement, between the parties, (i.e. the Central Govt. and the Shiromani Akali Dal), that official language of each region will at the district level and below be the respective regional language, and that the State shall be bilingual recognising both Punjabi (in Gurmukhi script) and Hindi (in Devnagri script), as the official language of the State. May I know if the Govt. of India have gone back on the above provisions? If not, then why and with whose authority are these committees being constituted to somehow or other wriggle out of the above terms. The Punjab Govt. has no power to reopen questions settled by the Centre. I really think that by making the announcement of this new committee, Sardar Partap Singh has sounded the death knell of the Regional Formula. He is merely the agent of the Government of India and I feel convinced that he would not take such steps without getting a line clear from that Govt. Your government has repeatedly blamed me for breach of faith, but my repeated challenges to get matter of guilt of breach of faith adjudged by an independent party, have simply been ignored.

And if really the question is to be reopened at all (and that in spite of the terms of the Regional Formula), should we the other party to it, have not been the first to be consulted? But the fact of the matter is that the real intention of the Punjab Chief Minister is, not to bring about a settlement, but merely to appear to be bringing about a settlement, and under that cloak to loosen the floodgates of agitation and unrest, and to create such a situation in the State, as would make his presence indispensable in the eyes of the Central Government, even though his inefficient and corrupt administration is reviled by the whole of Punjab, including the oldest and staunchest Congressmen. I do submit that if there is really a "language problem" in the Punjab which needs settlement badly, then Shri Partap Singh should have been the last person to have been allowed to handle it. Sikhs have shown that they have no faith in him, and I do not think, Hindus are very eager to accept him as their representative either.

Under these circumstances, I have considered it advisable to address you, before deciding on any line of action. I would be grateful if you kindly let me

know what the position of the Government of India, vis-à-vis this new Committee, and the points raised above me is? Trusting you won't mind the bother.

Yours sincerely,
Tara Singh

16. In the Rajya Sabha: Raghu Vira on China's Atomic Bomb²⁰

[Refer to item 2 and 195]

Prof. Dr. Raghu Vira: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Budget proposals put forward by the Finance Minister. They have allayed the many fears apprehended in different parts of the country. While supporting the proposals in a general way I would be failing in my responsibility if I were not to draw the attention of the House to the miserly allocations made for the defence of the nation. Sometimes there was a word used in this connection and that word was "burden". I am afraid that the underlying belief seems to be that defence is a burden, and thus the allocations for the purpose are miserly in the present context of things. May I submit, Sir, that Defence at the present moment is not a burden? It is an offering at the altar of freedom and, if I may say so, at the altar of unpreparedness. We have launched the bark of active defence of a mauled and lacerated border. Let us do it adequately and properly matching the offensive preparations on the other side of the Himalayan summits. We have accepted this operation, which might be called "the Northern Vigil". This operation has to be accepted as a long-term one, and if it is a long-term operation, as undoubtedly it is, let us never again be lulled into narcotic stupor even by the forthcoming meeting of the two Prime Ministers. As long as Chinese arsenals and massed soldiery are not disbanded, it is our duty to see that our watch and guard stand erect, strong and dense on our entire frontier and never again should we allow ourselves to think in terms of a rosy picture in India-China relations after our recent experience. The initiative to turn a rosy picture into a blood shot one should not be left to any megalomaniac adventures who may occupy the seat of honour as leaders of the neighbouring country. Our problem is: "Are we preparing fast enough and heavily enough?" We do not

20. Interventions during the discussion on budget proposals, 7 March 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol XXVIII, cols 2945-2952.

know. Perhaps we are, but probably we are not. Who is there to see and judge and to recommend or to enforce or to change the prejudices against the arming of the nation to defend itself? I suggest the creation of a Preparedness Committee of Parliament. There is a parallel in the U.S.A. where there exists the Senate Preparedness Committee. The nation cannot depend upon the ideas and judgments of two or three or four men in this vital matter concerning the very life of the nation.

May I further suggest that we learn from the Russians, adopting some of their models? The Russians have a number of institutions concerning the defence of the country. I shall mention only a few among them. The first is the psychological one, and that is the mobilisation of patriotism, of flaming ardour, which the Russians symbolise in the term *rodina* (motherland, fatherland) (जननी जन्म भूमिश्च स्वर्गादपि गरीयसी). Let that ardour and that fervour be aroused in our people and let them possess Bergson's *élan vital* which the Russians took as their motif "the vital bounce", so that we become what has been mentioned in the Rig Veda as सहसः सुनूः the sons of challenge, the sons of daring defiance. The Russians have an institution and this institution they call *razvedka* the Sanskrit equivalent being रहस्य वेदक. It is the department of intelligence and reconnaissance. Our *razvedka* is timid, if I could use the word. It is very timid and it is a mere trickle. A road or an airstrip is hewn and lain; a slope, or a pasture or a lake is held and pervaded by the foes, and nobody known for months and sometimes even for years. Why does this happen? Because our *razvedka* is missing. The third thing which we may learn from the Russians, Sir, is that very important institution, *unichtozhenie* and I would not mind if this word were taken into the Indian language; it is the *sine qua non* of defensive solidarity. *Unichtozhenie* is the political annihilation—I use the word which has been used by the Russians—of the infiltrated might of the enemy that has spread throughout the length and breadth of the country, here, there, in all forums and squares. Anybody who doubts the *sine qua non* of *unichtozhenie* can have possibly nothing to do with the real defence of the country.

Another thing which the Russians found useful was *skovyvaiushchaia gruppā*. This is the 2,000 miles long first echelon of defence. I do not know what our Ministers are doing. Perhaps they do not know about this *skovyvaiushchaia gruppā*. It is the first defence, the border residents' force, mobilised, trained and armed. We should have them up to a depth of 200 miles.

There is the fifth organisation called DOSAAF. It is a parliamentary volunteer organisation for the support of Army, Navy and Air Force. In September, 1959, the Russians had got 15 million or 1½ crores of such volunteers. Our population is double and our danger is immediate. It can be well imagined what our strength

in respect of such an organisation should be.

Sir, I take it that all these things are possible only if there is a foundational political rethinking and reformulation of mental postures, so as to allow the normal human defensive reflexes to operate in spontaneity.

Border defence is not war. It is active peace, peace with security, training and controlling of aggressive, non-peaceful, predatory or gluttonous nations into a peaceful mood. This can be done again only if we believe in the global doctrine of securing the freedom of smaller and weaker nations. Why is it necessary? Let me explain it by quoting to the House the Chinese politicians' nursery rhyme:

The sheep has wool
Fleece it;
The lamb is fat
Eat it
Oh! It is not the sheep
It is not the lamb;
It has teeth and claws
It is angry too
It has a wolfy view
Be off, be off.

Again, let us recognise clearly and squarely that the battle for Asia has begun. The vacuum created by the withdrawal or the turning out of the Western powers from Asia is no longer able to sustain itself. Ten years ago people of the world had asked in different capitals: "Who will fill the vacuum? China or India?" India protested and withdrew. Now China has stepped her ponderous heel right on our forehead. May I be permitted to say that our foresight failed us in this matter? But shall we now not use our hindsight to retrieve the loss, for today's hindsight is tomorrow's foresight?

The Chinese Prime Minister, honourable Chou En-lai, is coming. I have respect for him, I have love for him. We approve of his being invited. But there should be no waving of flags and no crowds. It should be a quiet reception, an official reception. As long as Chinese flags and forces are not removed from Aksai Chin, how can we wave flags? In the reception there should be no partisans. Partisans will bring about anti-Chou demonstrations. It will not be desirable either. There should be no waving of flags. It should be a simple, official reception.

Let us consider what Mr. Chou En-lai's *leitmotif* is. His political philosophy—I should put it in a simple way, may not be a good way—is conquest. Now, Chinese have used Buddhist symbols to symbolise their present political philosophy. The ancient Buddhist symbol has been pressed into the service of

expansionism. The world view is that of two lotuses, the red lotus and the white lotus. In between the two lotuses comes the *Indra's Vajra*, the invincible and indestructible thunderbolt. The red lotus *chih lien hua*, forms the base on which stands the indestructible and invincible shattering *Vajra—Chin kang hua*. On the *Vajra*, "there is the white lotus, *Pundarik* or *pai lien hua*. On the bottom lies the *Panchsheel* which has been utilised for the holocausting and liquidation of Tibet. *Vajra* is blatant aggression. The white lotus, the original broad-based law of peace and mercy, is now represented by the forthcoming negotiations.

Now Mr. Chou En-lai's objective in coming here is clear. Before him, Eisenhower came, Khrushchev came. What happened? We the MPs have been reduced to the position of waiting boys, whose one duty, only one duty, is to wait and to wait, not to think, not to participate in deliberations, but to wait and to clap thunderous approval when the final announcement is made.

It will be a serious matter when Red China, red in tooth and claw—on the 28th March, 9 A.M. she explodes her first atomic bomb, *yuan tzu tan*, 120 miles to the south west of Urumchi—armed with this bolt from the blue sits on table with mature and wise India, India without tooth and claw. I only imagine, you also imagine, everybody should imagine what the negotiations would be, what the give and take would be. We and China are not the only peoples concerned with it, but there are bigger powers who are concerned, powers that hold the leash. If the leash has been pulled straight and hard, China may say: "I go out. I vacate Aksai Chin. I lay no claim to Longju. Macmahon and Ladakh lines, we shall rename them as lines of friendship, friendship of India and China, or *Han-Indu Ching Chich hsien*. I am sorry for the misunderstanding. Now, we shall form a *détente*. We, friends and brothers, come together and light lamps of peace, eternal peace, Asian and global peace—Hindi Chini Bhai Bhai."

But, Sir, if the leash has not been pulled straight, China may demand this or that, repeat her claims, withdrawing some, sticking to the rest. What will India demand? Can India make a demand too? Can there be negotiations without India needing something?

I come to the history of the Himalayas. I shall not quote from literature. Our Kailash, Mansarovar, Gurla Mandhata have a hoary tradition in Indian culture. Why should we not have the uninhabited area from Demchok to Rakas Tal right up to Kailash and Mansarovar following to Kailash range boundary. (*Showing a map of the Himalayas*) Here is Kailash, here is Rakas Tal, here is Manasarovar and here is Kailash range. Here is the territory from Demchok to Kailash. It makes an area of 10,000 square miles, exactly the area, mile for mile, which has been occupied by the Chinese in Aksai Chin. That would make

India balance the Chinese demand for strategic purposes, for joining Tibet and Turkistan. If we make this demand, there is nothing wrong in it. If Tibet had been a sovereign country, our people could have gone for pilgrimage to Kailash and Mansarovar. Now they cannot go.

I have taken a long time. I shall stop with the remarks that defence is a matter in which the Parliament should take greater interest. I have been pained to see that we have been sometimes snubbed, our public has been snubbed, our students who wanted to interest themselves and participate have been snubbed. I wish that this snubbing stops and that defence is put on a long-term basis. Thank you, Sir.

17. **M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar to Nehru**²¹

[Refer to item 111]

7th March 1960

Your kind letter of the 4th March. Regarding the two matters with respect to which you wanted to invite my special attention, I may say that I agree with you that all the Ministers cannot be expected to be present in the Lok Sabha every day. I never wanted them to be present. I know that they have got office work and that they have also to attend to the other House of Parliament. In special debates like the Debate on the President's Address, the General Discussion of the Budget and the General Discussion of the Finance Bill, I wished that all the Ministers or their Deputies may be present in the House so that they may take note of the points raised regarding their respective Ministries and answer them when they are called upon to do so. I have never suggested that they should be present in the House even when their own subjects were not coming up for consideration otherwise.

During the Question Hour, it often happens that the supplementaries that are put, require the answer of more than one Minister. If and when such other Minister is present in the House, he is occasionally used to explain the viewpoints of his own Ministry in relation to those questions. You yourself have been present all through during the Question Hour and often intervened in many questions which were not addressed to you and explained the Government's point of view. That had a softening effect on the proceedings of the House. You may consider the desirability of advising the Ministers or their Deputies to follow your example.

21. Copy of letter; salutation and signature not available.

But, so far as the Minister of Information and Broadcasting is concerned, his work is somewhat different from that of others. I feel that it would be useful if the Minister of Information & Broadcasting or his Deputy attends the Question Hour and also attends all important debates which come up before the House from time to time. Though the Minister of Information & Broadcasting may not be responsible for publicity which relates to the Ministry of External Affairs, all other business, viz. that connected with All India Radio embracing News Services of the Home Programmes, programmes for Foreign countries and Indians overseas, presentation and interpretation of the policies and activities of the Government of India through the medium of the press, publicity through exhibitions, publicity to and for the Armed Forces, and production, sale and distribution of popular pamphlets, books and journals on matters of national importance for internal as well as external publicity with a view to imparting to the general public at home and abroad, correct information about India, fall under his jurisdiction. Hence it may be useful, if not necessary, to discharge those functions, for the Minister or his Deputy to be present in the House during all important debates and particularly during the Question Hour so that he may get into touch personally with the trend of discussions in the House and the matters which the Parliament feels are important, without merely depending upon the printed proceedings of the House for their information. It is in that view that I made the observations the other day and I never intended to cast any aspersions either on your colleagues or on your Government.

I am sorry that it should have created a different impression and caused you distress. I assure you that nothing will be done by me to lower the honour of your Government or of your colleagues.

18. B.C. Roy to Nehru²²

[Refer to item 37]

Calcutta

March 8, 1960

My dear Jawahar,

Your letter No. 520-PMH/60 dated the 6th March, 1960 regarding the removal of obstruction in the Bhagirathi for the purpose of revitalising the River and getting fresh connection with the Ganges and, as you say in your letter, "it will

22. Letter. File No. 17 (156)/56/56-63-PMS. Also available in Saroj Chakrabarty (ed.), *With B.C. Roy and Other Chief Ministers* (Calcutta: Benson's, 1974), pp. 446-447.

be a purposeful preparatory measure for the success of the Ganga Barrage Project."

I have been crying hoarse over this Project. I placed it in the forefront in 1954-55 when the Second Five Year Plan was in the offing. Mr. Nanda, who was then in charge of that Department, definitely assured me before all others in the Planning Commission that the matter would be taken up by the Central Government and, therefore, we need not place it in our Plan, but nothing has happened. Commissions have come and Commissions have gone: enquiries have been made several times, perhaps "ad nauseam". Now I understand that the Planning Commission is not satisfied with the result of various enquiries that have been made in the past and that they want to have another enquiry by another foreign expert. Meanwhile, what is happening is that the East Pakistan Government have already taken 8,000 cusecs of water from the Ganges for their Kabodak Scheme and they will very soon increase the amount of their intake by pumping water from the Ganges to Kabodak up to 20,000 cusecs. This means that we shall be lagging far behind.

I have heard rumours that we should not talk loudly about the Ganga Barrage Project because that might upset the Pakistan Government. Need we wait for that, while our own State is about to face a calamity? I understand that you are having discussions on this Project in the Cabinet. I can only tell you that this Scheme is essential not merely for the economy of the State itself but also for the safety of the Port of Calcutta which handles a very large quantity of goods for export and import purposes. It will save the city of Calcutta from extra salinity during the hot weather. Meanwhile, it will help us to have a balanced distribution of water in the Delta and to the different parts of West Bengal.

I urge upon you to take this matter up seriously.

Yours affectionately,

Bidhan

19. Makkan Singh to Nehru²³

[Refer to item 79]

For Personal and Immediate Attention of Prime Minister

8 March 1960

To
The Prime Minister,
Government of India.

Sub:- Opening of power house Kundah Hydro
Electric Scheme in Madras State by the
Prime Minister on 24.3.1960 – Regarding.

I would invite the Prime Minister's immediate attention to the following facts about the power house at Kundah which is proposed to be inaugurated on 24.3.60.

A brief outline of the project of a whole, of which the power house No. 1 is only a part, is given below.

Two masonry Dams will be built at Emerald Camp to form a common storage reservoir of capacity of 5,500 M.cft. A low pressure tunnel of about 15,000 feet long will take off from Avalanche Dam at Emerald Camp and lead to a surge tank of about 25 feet diameter. The first 1,200 feet of tunnel will be of 1 cft diameter pipes and the balance will be a cement concrete lined tunnel. From the surge tank the tunnel will run for about 870 feet at the end of which it will trifurcate into 3 penstocks of 63"/57"/51" diameter to feed 3 turbines each of 20 mega-watts installed capacity erected at power house No. 1.

From the above it will be clear that the Headworks of the whole scheme are at Emerald Camp. The water for the power house stored at Emerald will be let through the alive tunnel to run the turbines at power house No.1. I am repeating this so that the Prime Minister may be convinced of strategic importance of the part this long tunnel has to play in the whole scheme. If for some reason or other something were to happen to the tunnel, the whole 35 crores scheme will flop like "House of Cards".

Now coming to the subject proper i.e., opening of the power house on 24th instant it is pointed out that it cannot simply be done now, for the very very simple reason that the tunnel referred to above is not yet ready [,] one third of the work in respect of the all-important tunnel near the reservoir end has yet to be done. This unfinished portion relates to concrete lining of the

23. Letter.

tunnel without completing which no water can be let through it as the Prime Minister himself can see. Also at present there is not sufficient water in the reservoir; even by 24th there will not be enough water to be let through tunnel.

If the tunnel is not yet ready for use and there is not sufficient water in the reservoir, how then is the water required for the running of power house to reach it? Therein lies the "ingenuity" of the Chief Engineer who is the one and only one driving force behind this ill conceived and hasty opening on 24th.

The "ingenious plan" consists in pumping water into an area of the tunnel near the surge tank and attempting to run the turbine on the inauguration day for a few hours just when the Prime Minister and other distinguished visitors are present by making it appear as though the water has come from the reservoir through the tunnel and penstock to the power house. This costly and per cent infractions adventure which, it is reliably learnt is being opposed by the Canadian Engineers stationed here, but unfortunately overruled, will enable the generator to run till such time as the guests leave the site. But the work has to be continued for several more months before the power house can be really inaugurated.

The expenditure to manage this fake inauguration will thus be a total loss. The energy, cost and manpower now utilised for the same could very well have been used for completing the tunnel itself and then running the power house as would have been the patriotic and honest endeavour of any citizen. But it would however appear that both are at a premium so far as the Chief Technical member of this Electricity Board is concerned.

One would necessarily want to know why such a fraud is being attempted. The answer is "Personal aggrandizement". For some time past this Chief Engineer has been trying to earn a name for himself with false claims of having completed a project ahead of schedule instance of commissioning the Periyar power house, in October 1958 which was actually inaugurated with the help of electric current supplied from Pykara System is an instance at hand. Large encomiums were paid on the "zeal", "energy" and what not of Chief Engineer, but for whom, it was stated that the project could not have been completed in such a short period. Perhaps the Chief Engineer expects again popularity and thereby secure for himself a better post, say, as chairman of combined power grid for the south which is reported to be under the active consideration of the Government of India.

I would not have minded this kind of fraud being perpetrated if it does not result in large-scale abuse of the sacred trust imposed by the Government on this official. In addition to personal popularity and other things arising out of it, this gentleman seems to have an eye on further grants from Planning Commission by pointing out that he has completed all projects ahead of time. If this is detected at later date then the fair name of Madras State Engineers will be

blotted out by an ever-lasting stigma.

This sort of "Inauguration" could have been done in last June when the Prime Minister visited this place.

The facts contained in preparas are susceptible of verification if only an independent engineering authority were to be vested with this enquiry. An enquiry by the Special Police Establishment would perhaps reveal more activities of this "Patriotic Gentleman". I am sure this would reveal, beside other thing, how due to reasons of personal ego, the quality of work with anticipated life of several centuries has been made to suffer in the name of performing tasks ahead of scheduled time.

The Prime Minister himself will be convinced of the hollowness of this fake inauguration if he undertakes a surprise inspection of the Headworks area and the 'Portal' end of the tunnel just prior to the "Inauguration".

In the name of decency and justice, I would submit that Prime Minister institute an urgent enquiry concerning the facts. When a few people are duped by an official of a State, it may not matter much; but when efforts are made to dupe the Prime Minister himself, the honour of the Nation itself is at stake.

Yours faithfully,
(Makkan Singh, Contracting Engineer)

Kundah Bridge, P.O.
8.3.1960

Copy to:

1. Shri C. Raja Gopalachari, Ex-Governor General of India,
Bazalullah Road, Thyagarayanagar, Madras-17.
2. Shri Feroz Gandhi, Member of Lok Sabha,
Parliament House, New Delhi.

20. V.K. Krishna Menon to Nehru²⁴*[Refer to item 58]*

Minister of Defence
New Delhi
9th March 1960

My dear Prime Minister,

I place below a note (although a long one) on Administrative Re-organisation. I regret the delay in submitting this, which has partly been caused by the attention that had to be given to details and the discussions that had to take place in the Ministry.

I am submitting this paper myself, as I believe some Ministers have done, to you. This does not, however, mean that it is my personal effort although I take the responsibility for it.

This paper contains proposals which, I am aware, represent a departure from the existing pattern of Administration. I submit them in the belief that nothing short of genuine changes dealing with both administration and distribution of powers and functions can meet the ends we have in view. I am aware of the fact that you may possibly regard them as being impractical or something of that kind. But I must take the liberty of saying that they are not submitted as an academic approach but a practical one.

I am convinced myself that without such changes, perhaps even more drastic, there is little hope of Administration being equal to the tasks involved in responding to the economic, social and political aspirations and demands.

I had given deep thought to the idea, whether one should merely submit a brief note about one's own troubles and difficulties in Administration or go to root problems. This paper is the result.

[Yours sincerely,]
V.K. Krishna Menon

24. Letter. File No. 6/1/CF/60/ Part. III, Cabinet Secretariat.

His note is available in the same file.

21. C.D. Deshmukh to Nehru²⁵

[Refer to item 78]

9th March 1960

Will you please refer to your letter No.480-PMH/60 of March 3, 1960, a copy of which was sent on to me by my office to Madras and which reached me therefore on the 6th March, that is to say, the day following the day on which Shri Subramaniam, the Education Minister of Madras met me in connection with this case.

There are still some features in the case which puzzle me, and I consider it necessary therefore, if all the facts of the case are to be ascertained to everyone's satisfaction, that you should authorise someone to hear the complainant, Shri Thiagarajan, at least once in person. I also think it necessary to the same end that the whole case file relating to this acquisition should be seen by someone on your behalf who has sufficient time to study the details.

I am sorry that Shri Sri Prakasa's memory has failed him in this matter. I referred to his name as according to the information given to me by Shri Thiagarajan it was Shri Sri Prakasa who persuaded Rajaji to withhold the issue of some significant notification under some Section of the Madras Land Acquisition Act for some time and that Shri Sri Prakasa had acted on representation made to him by Shri Subbaraj, the influential holder of the bulk of the land.

I mentioned Shri Giri's name because when I visited Lucknow towards the end of November last we happened to refer in our conversation to this particular case, and as far as I can recollect, Shri Giri mentioned that he had himself recently written to Shri Kamaraj in order to persuade him to have additional land acquired for the Thiagaraja College and that Shri Kamaraj had undertaken in his reply to do something in the matter. I would request that you pass this on to Shri Giri for verification and if there has been recently correspondence between him and Shri Kamaraj the Chief Minister to let you see the copies of the correspondence.

The matter we are discussing is not whether 27 acres of additional land is sufficient or not for the college. This matter is determined by the University of Madras who granted temporary affiliation to the college on condition that they have on the campus a minimum extent of land which would be more than 40 acres (that is, 13 acres at present in the possession of the college plus the 27

25. Copy of letter; salutation and signature not available.

acres which the Madras Government said they are prepared to secure for the college at the rates in existence soon after the original notification was issued). I am requesting Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar to confirm this in writing. If the University require the college to have a campus of say 50 acres then obviously the State Government has to acquire 37 and not 27 acres.

In regard to the potential industrial value of the land, according to my information the college is not at all in the heart of the city being situated at least 3 miles out of the city and a couple of miles beyond the last small industrial enterprise (some kind of oil mill, I think) situated in that part. The whole area is temple area and the land to be acquired is under some kind of indifferent orchard cultivation. In any case, if the land has value from an industrial point of view I think that is all the more reason why the whole of it should have been acquired as early as possible without allowing the case to drift along for years as has been permitted in this case by the Madras Government. Surely, if any of this land is to be acquired now for industrial or other purposes it will cost several times more than what it would have cost had it been acquired by Government either for themselves or for some institution like the college. The gravest defect in the procedure followed by the Madras Government is that these proceedings have been allowed to drift for 8 long years, with the result that if the proceedings are withdrawn now the new compensation that could be claimed would be exorbitant making it impossible for the college to acquire all the land that it requires under the conditions imposed by the University for converting the temporary affiliation into permanent affiliation.

I had on the first occasion on which I heard of the case, perhaps two years ago, mentioned it to Shri Subramaniam and not knowing the full case of the College carried his message to Shri Thiagarajan that he should be content with the 27 acres that Madras Government undertook to acquire for him at reasonable rates. It was thereupon that Shri Thiagarajan mentioned to me that the area required for the campus under the orders of the University was larger and that he suspected that the reduction of area was due to undue influence exercised by Shri Subbaraj. Thereupon I passed Shri Thiagarajan's statement to Shri Medhi who in his reply explained that the land proceedings were held up because Shri Thiagarajan was not prepared to pay the proper compensation, vide copy of Shri Medhi's letter enclosed.

There are one or two matters of fact or law which also require some investigation. One is the statement of Shri Thiagarajan in the representation that he has sent (which has been forwarded by me to you) that the orders that were passed by Rajaji were later revised by him. Incidentally, you will have seen if you have had the time to go through his statement, that Rajaji's predecessor Shri Kumaraswami Reddiar [in fact, Raja not Reddiar] had left a

note after considering all the objections that the whole area should be acquired. The second point, a matter of law, is that whereas according to Shri Subramaniam land acquisition proceedings proper have not yet started, according to Shri Thiagarajan the only thing left now is the issue of the relevant notification which would enable him to accept compensation and pay the money for the whole of the land applied for leaving it to Shri Subbaraj to pursue his remedies in a court of law. Another point worth investigating should be how much of the 59 acres belonged to Shri Subbaraj or members of his family when the formal or informal proceedings started and how much of the 27 acres proposed to be acquired now belong either to Shri Subbaraj or to members of his family.

The case illustrates the inadequacy of the procedure which you propose to follow in investigating such cases. In the nature of things you would neither have the time nor the energy to pursue these investigations in detail, nor indeed to call for evidence on oath or to subpoena witnesses or even to call for confidential files from State Government.

In view of the legal issues involved, I am not in a position to judge whether Shri Thiagarajan was wise or not in going to the court of law for a writ of *mandamus*. In any case only the legal issue will be decided there, that is, whether after land acquisition proceedings have been started and certain notifications issued, after over-ruling preliminary objections, it is open to the State Government to revise the decision unilaterally and to threaten to withdraw the whole proceedings. If the case is decided against Shri Thiagarajan, as might well be the case since the Government might represent that the public purpose for which they required the land can be secured by some other means, the question of whether there was any political influence in this matter or not will still remain to be decided. That surely is not a matter for any high court to go into.

It strikes me that in regard to the point of fact which is still in doubt you might consider it worthwhile to write to Rajaji and ask what his recollection of the matter is.

Lastly, I would strongly urge that you ask someone else (if it is not to be Shri S.R. Das) to go into all the aspects of the case in greater detail and with more particular reference to the specific allegations made by the complainant than you have been able to do. I would also request that in due course the results of your investigation be made available to the public so that they would know one way or the other which the truth lies.

22. Ellen Roy to Nehru²⁶*[Refer to item 274]*

13, Mohini Road

Dehradun

March 10, 1960

Dear Pandit Jawaharlal,

Just a year ago I Informed you about the possibility of the Rockefeller Foundation assisting this institute and the M.N. Roy Archives to transcribe, arrange and edit Roy's unpublished writings, and while giving your sanction you suggested that I keep you informed about the progress of the plan. In the end, the Foundation decided against it and in the letter communicating this decision to me, the Director wrote that "it seems to me almost unbelievable that sufficient support and encouragement could not be found in India, which produced Roy and which has the most to gain from a close examination of his thought."

I resented this remark so strongly that I wrote back to say that he had no reason to find it almost unbelievable that sufficient support and encouragement could not be found In India.... "because no such support had been asked for until now. Considering the resources of the Indian Government are required for more urgent practical projects, while the great American Foundations have made it their mission to promote precisely such cultural and research projects, I placed the suggestion first before you. But I feel confident to assure you that we shall receive, whenever the request will be made, all the support and encouragement in this country and from its government, as we have done in the past. Even the M.N. Roy Archives could not have been brought into existence without the support and encouragement of the Government of India, with all the grant of The Rockefeller Foundation, for which we remain grateful even while regretting the refusal of further assistance."

The reason of the Foundation officers for further assistance, I believe, is that the manuscripts are rather voluminous, about 1500 narrowly written pages, complicated by jail conditions, with cross references through the six years and nine volumes. To unravel copy and edit the manuscripts will take at least 2-3 years. The Rockefeller foundation was prepared to appoint one person to go through the manuscript and select portions of it to be developed with comments. But I insisted that the whole manuscript must be developed first before anybody

26. Letter. File No. 40(163)/58-62-PMS.

can select parts of it for comments and elaboration. Enclosed is a report on the whole manuscript as well as detailed notes on all the 9 volumes, together with recommendations what could be done to make use of the work. These reports were drawn up by eight persons who worked here last summer for two weeks, studying and discussing the manuscripts. The major part of these are devoted to an attempt at reducing a new social philosophy from modern science, and to weave strands of Indian thought into the making of it, as was his idea of Indian Renaissance.

I am now trying to find assistance for this work elsewhere, because this Institute has not the means to put a competent scholar with at least one part-time consultant and two qualified technical assistants to work for 2 to 3 years. But I don't quite know where to turn for this. After the exchange with the Rockefeller Foundation, I would wish that the assistance could indeed be found in the country.

We might start to raise the M.N. Roy Memorial Fund, for which an appeal was issued and signed by a number of national leaders in 1954, and which was to serve the publication of a definitive edition of Roy's writings, as you may remember. But it might be better to postpone the actual raising of the fund till publication of at least the earliest writings could begin, most of which exist however only in microfilms and require a good deal of editing and annotations. Also the work on the Memorial Edition would proceed more smoothly and rapidly if the editing and other work on the unpublished manuscripts could be done as a separate preliminary project.

I am writing this to you because you had kindly asked to be kept informed about this plan, and in the hope that you will advise me where to turn to obtain assistance for this work, whether from the Ministry of Cultural Affairs and Scientific Research, or the National Book Trust, or some other fund at your or the President's disposal for work of some national interest.

Yours sincerely,
Ellen Roy

23. G.B. Pant to Nehru²⁷

[Refer to item 110]

Home Minister,
India.
New Delhi,
March 10, 1960

My dear Jawaharlalji,

A notification has to issue containing the President's directions on the Report of the Official Language Committee of Parliament. I enclose a draft of the Notification which is on the lines of the note considered and approved by the Cabinet and embodies the Cabinet's decisions. A copy of it has also been sent by me informally to the President. You may kindly make such changes as you consider necessary, and after you have approved of it, I shall submit it formally to you for the President's signature so that it may then be promulgated.

Yours affectionately,
G.B. Pant

24. K. Ram to Nehru²⁸

[Refer to item 151]

Some members of Parliament from Assam wrote to the Prime Minister on March 1, 1960 complaining that the selling prices of petroleum products were higher in Assam than in the Calcutta area, in spite of oil being both produced and refined in Assam itself. I forwarded the letter to the Department of Mines and Fuel asking them to examine the point raised by these M.Ps. A reply has now been received from that Department, the substance of which is that it is difficult to help the situation even though the grievances of the people of Assam are very legitimate. It is stated that right from the time when our entire requirements used to be imported, we have been wedded to "import parity" as a basis for petroleum pricing in India. In the agreements leading to the establishment of the coastal refineries the companies insisted upon this principle

27. Letter. File No. 52(13)/58-63-PMS.

28. Note, 10 March 1960. File No. 17(205)/56-66-PMS. Also published in B.R. Nanda (ed.), *Selected Works of Govind Ballabh Pant* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002), Vol. 18, pp. 235-236.

being written in. Even these coastal refineries have been charging notional ex-refinery prices having no relation to the actual cost of refining as such. The Department of Mines and Fuel say that in spite of their very best efforts since early 1957 to break away from this principle, they have failed. They feel that because departure from "import parity" as such would lead to pressures on the companies from Government and peoples of other similarly placed countries where they have refineries, it has not been possible for that Department to persuade the companies to give up "import parity" as a principle.

2. After P.M. has seen, I shall inform the Members of Parliament concerned briefly on the lines indicated above.

25. India: Independence and After²⁹

[Refer to item 205]

A discussion between Mrs. Pandit and Michael Edwardes

Michael Edwardes: What did living in India under British rule really mean to you, Mrs. Pandit, or to an average educated Indian, before you became involved in the freedom movement?

Mrs. Pandit: My home was a kind of reflection of an English home of the period: the language we spoke, the food we ate, the way we lived was entirely British. I had an English nurse, a governess, and, later, English tutors. And the whole background was British, even though part of our home was Indian and traditionally Hindu.

Edwardes: This included, presumably, a good grounding in the English classics?

Mrs. Pandit: Indeed it did, from very earliest days.

Edwardes: And your brother was sent to England to school.

Mrs. Pandit: Yes. He went to Harrow and Cambridge, and then later to the Inner Temple.

Edwardes: What sort of relations did you have with British rulers of the time?

29. Published in *The Listener*, London, 10 March 1960, pp. 437-439.

Mrs. Pandit: My father had close associations with British officialdom; and I remember we as children had the entrée to all English homes, an entrée denied to most Indians. This level of activity was confined to a certain group of people who lived according to the British pattern.

Edwardes: When you first joined the freedom movement these attitudes must have changed. Did this, for example, lead you to rebel against British influences, lock, stock and barrel, or did you develop a split personality, repudiating British influence in politics and yet still being influenced by the very English background that you had had in your early years?

Mrs. Pandit: The immediate reaction was to repudiate everything. But, I am glad to say, we did not repudiate all the best things, such as the influence that British literature had made on us, British liberal thinking, and so on; these remained. I talk now of a small group, not the vast masses that followed the national movement.

Edwardes: Nevertheless, it was a small group that influenced and led the movement?

Mrs. Pandit: That is so. In the beginning, as I say, there was this desire to rebel against everything, but later, I think, it found an outlet in activities connected with the movement, like "Buy Indian" and wearing the national garb which was handspun, handwoven "khadi", and working for the national movement in the villages—things of that sort.

Edwardes: This retention of British ideas—liberal political ideas—which you had not seen practised in India gave to the freedom movement a certain Britishness. Gandhi even—who cannot be said to have had a British background, even though he had been over here studying law—took over these liberal ideas because the things that you actually fought for were such English things as representation, and all the other things that go with liberal democratic ideas, which were, of course, very un-Indian.

Mrs. Pandit: That might lead to a long discussion! But I accept the fact that they were Western concepts. We suddenly had the urge to get away from the Western pattern and identify ourselves with India—her history, culture, and so forth. I was one of those who suddenly began to read with much enthusiasm everything pertaining to the cultural and historical past.

Edwardes: Yet you still retained those Western liberal ideas and fought for them?

Mrs. Pandit: Yes, indeed. We tried to correlate them with the fact that something in our past was similar, and that it had been possible to move from the past into this. British present, in which we found ourselves, without being disloyal to our heritage,

Edwardes: Have any of these changes, which started with the beginnings of the freedom movement, been made permanent by the act of independence; or has there been a return to a pre-independence normality which seems to be little different from the days of British rule? In what ways, briefly, is independent India different from British India?

Mrs. Pandit: That is a difficult question to answer. Of course, there are many differences; but it is not easy to define them. In the freedom movement there was a rejection of certain things. Many of these remained rejected. Now we are going through a kind of hybrid period, which is unfortunate, but I hope transitory. As you know yourself, there is a great revival—I will not call it a renaissance—of Indian cultural patterns. But I think it is going to be some time before this revival leads to a final pattern emerging.

Edwardes: I suppose some of the things that you did reject were luxuries, and that you gave them up for your homespun, but now these luxurious objects are coming back because they are internationally part of the high standard of living?

Mrs. Pandit: And also, in our case, because so many of them are now being manufactured in India.

Two Patterns of Government

Edwardes: You were mentioning a sort of hybridism between the two conflicting cultures. Even in present-day political structures in India you have conflicts, don't you? The government at the centre operates upon English patterns. We forget in the West that India is a federal state with state governments as well, which is an American pattern.

Mrs. Pandit: Yes.

Edwardes: And you have these two—one cannot call them alien—differing patterns, happening one at the centre, one in the states; and all these are imposed upon an Indian background, are they not?

Mrs. Pandit: That is true; and they are working out fairly well. But I am one of those who feel that certain modifications will be necessary in our constitution before we can really make it effective. There are too many foreign concepts lumped together for the ordinary man to understand and be able to function through.

Edwardes: One of the most obvious, continuing things from the British period is the Indian Civil Service. Today this seems to me, as an outsider, very much like the old one.

Mrs. Pandit: The Civil Service is the old one. There is no new Civil Service; the new service that has been started in India is the Foreign and Administrative Service, but the old steel frame still continues and functions in the same way. It is often said that because of our fine Civil Service, left to us by the British, we are in a better position than our neighbours, and that we have a continuity of government and so on. I suppose that is partly true. But what is not often remembered is that this group of people—no doubt dedicated and efficient—because of the tradition and the discipline with which they were brought up, and the approach to problems which is theirs, are less effective in interpreting the new pattern that the Government of India is trying to evolve. It is a foreign concept to them. They do their best, but it is a poor best.

Edwardes: One has to remember that the Indian Civil Service was not a Civil Service in a normal Western sense. It was in fact the Government of India, rather than the executive arm of that Government.

Mrs. Pandit: How right you are.

Edwardes: That is where the conflict is.

Mrs. Pandit: I would say that is one reason why our progress is not faster; because we have not, I think, roped in the public or inspired it with the sense of adventure which my brother, Pandit Nehru, talks about. The appeal has not gone home to them. They see the same mode of action going on, they see in many cases the same people in high positions; and although

they are not dissatisfied—I am not implying that there has been anything to antagonize the people—yet they do not see enough of a difference to become enthusiastic and to involve themselves in the new experiment.

Edwardes: Is English education still continuing? I know that the medium of education, English, is crumbling.

Mrs. Pandit: I might almost have said there is neither English nor education at the moment in India; but that would be a hard thing to say because it wouldn't be absolutely true. But it is frightening how the English language is crumbling. Unless something is done, soon, to restore it to its former position, which was a good position, I think we shall be the poorer for it. I'm sure you remember the recent controversy on the English language which has been taking place in India and in parliament. Here is one example of rejecting everything that belonged to foreign rulers. In our enthusiasm we were ready to reject English, which was our only window on the world; but fortunately I think it has been accepted now. My brother made a statement recently that English would remain. The point is, however, that English must remain at a high level and not in the form it seems to be taking today.

Edwardes: Since independence there are certain obvious economic changes—five-year plans and what I think used to be called socialistic views of planning—but social reform is perhaps more interesting at this stage than economic. Have there been changes that have emerged out of English ideas, such as the climate of reform in the middle of the nineteenth century which legislated against burning widows, infanticide, and thuggee? Has that tradition, which rather died after the Mutiny of 1857, been kept on after independence?

Mrs. Pandit: I think the most remarkable social change has been the change in the status of women. For the first time, we now have a codified system of Hindu law which applies to everybody; monogamy; and divorce in India—which didn't exist. We now have succession—which was unheard of. The Hindu woman was just an appendage to her husband or her son or her father. Now she stands on her own rights. She inherits, she has the right of divorce. A man may not marry a second wife without divorcing the first, and there are certain obligations on him to support children, and so on. One interesting thing is that in the new law the woman pays alimony to the man in certain cases.

Mr. Nehru's Prime Ministership

Edwardes: The concept of these changes in the status of woman is very Western. Although there were things that the British refused to legislate against, at least they left the idea of doing so behind them. They have now been taken up. In what ways is further change to be looked for, or even to be worked for in the future? Thirteen years from independence is a very small period in the life-span of a country like India. Do you believe that historians will see Mr. Nehru's prime ministership as having laid the foundations of a new system, or will it be viewed merely as an interregnum between Empire and the emergence of some new post-Imperial India?

Mrs. Pandit: I don't agree with your last assumption. I think there is something new and something very basic on which a completely different structure will be built. We can't go backwards, of that I am sure; and I would say that my brother's greatest contribution will have been the secular state, if it succeeds. Because the concept of a secular state will be the foundation of some new system, a very worth-while system.

Edwardes: Is it wrong to say that Mr. Nehru is the last Viceroy, that in fact he is carrying on these traditions for this period? Do you think that in, say, twenty years time, a purely Indian type of politician and a particularly Indian type of politics will emerge?

Mrs. Pandit: When you talk about the last Viceroy, do you use that term in the sense that the present Prime Minister is very Western in his approach?

Edwardes: I mean that he represents predominantly the ideas of the former rulers and is continuing them.

Mrs. Pandit: Some of the ideas are being continued because we believe them to be right, and on them we base our future changes. We use them as a foundation for other things, bringing in our own patterns of thought and building on them. Some of them are there because it is not easy to reject everything very quickly. But talking about the new type of leader who will come forward after my brother, I would say that he will have to have his feet firmly planted on Indian soil, he will have to be probably more Indian than our group is now, or my brother is now. But if he were wholly Indian, in the sense of being completely a product of Hinduism or Islam or Buddhism, he would be incapacitated from leading the country very far,

because what we want is an Indian who is an international leader.

Edwardes: You have the foundation in the fact that you already have the tradition of a secular state. Whatever the politician is, he will still be representing an Indian type of politics rather than a Hindu or a Buddhist type of politics. So this gives us another point of contact with the West: we will not necessarily have to deal with the Hindu state, we will have to deal with the secular state.

Mrs. Pandit: Exactly.

India and Western-style Democracy

Edwardes: It will be of a particularly Indian complexion but, nevertheless, we still have that point of contact. Yet as this Indian type of politics emerges, will Western-style democracy be repudiated? Pakistan has done this. Or are there going to be other changes, such as the ones of Jayaprakash Narayan?

Mrs. Pandit: I sincerely hope that Western-style democracy will not be repudiated. I don't think it need be repudiated. There will be various patterns of democracy, and, as we function, probably certain Indian concepts will be brought in which will fit in with the Western pattern. That is possible; but I do hope that Western democracy as such, as a basis of government, will not be abandoned by us. I don't think it need be, because we are a democratically minded people, in spite of the various chequered historical records we have had from time to time. And I do not believe that Jayaprakash Narayan's concept is something which could be accepted wholly by the Indian people any more. It is a kind of pastoral ideal which does not fit into the economic age; similarly, I don't think that the Bhoodan movement, useful as it is, is any substitute for economic planning but is, perhaps, complementary to the plans.

Edwardes: One interesting thing about one idea of Jayaprakash, that of decentralizing almost down to village councils again, is that it is not really Indian either. It has overtones of Europe in the pre-industrial period: it is Western as well as Indian.

Mrs. Pandit: It is Western but it is Indian too. But neither the West nor the East can, I think, go back to it with any benefit. And I cannot believe that the

average Indian today, whose mind is geared to economic progress and who is now susceptible to the various trends and ideals that are coming to him from everywhere—from China, from Soviet Russia—would be content to take a back seat, and sit somewhere planning his little village government and his little isolated society in the huge sea of India, and not participate more actively according to a more modern concept which brings him closer not only in thought but in action to the other countries of the world. After all, we are now rather proud of our position in the United Nations; we want to be able to take part in contributing to solutions; in being, in other words, a member of the world community. And I hardly see us functioning that way if we go right back to the village again, in the manner I think your question implies. Of course the focus of development for a long time must be the Indian village—happy as that seems to be at the moment.

Edwardes: You would certainly lose any sense of international identity by decentralizing your government to such an extent. What about education? Surely British-style education, a liberal arts education that we started in India, no longer really serves anybody's purpose, except perhaps the Communists'? The supreme example is the state with the highest literacy in India—Kerala: it also has the highest unemployment.

Mrs. Pandit: When we talk about unemployment it is not, I think, exactly the right word. There is plenty of employment in India, but there is not plenty of employment of the type that the Indian wants; our training has been wrong, and too much importance has been attached to a B.A. degree—after that, what he wants is to sit on a stool at a desk and wield a pen. We haven't enough of those jobs. He thinks it derogatory for him to work with his hands, to do the basic things that are needed in the countryside—I won't say definitely in the village, but even in the provincial towns. We want a new type of education which lays emphasis on different things. Nowadays we are geared to technology, but we have to think of work on lower levels than that of B.A.s and M.A.s and specialization.

Edwardes: If systems of politics and law, economics and education are going to change radically—and I think we do agree that it is in India's best interests that they change in the sense of adaptation to real conditions in India—what abiding relationships can we have?

Mrs. Pandit: One that I can envisage is the Commonwealth, our relations to the

Commonwealth. Now you probably are thinking of asking me a nasty question about what the Commonwealth is. What is this link that we are going to have? It is an invisible link, but the relationship with the Commonwealth is valuable because it is a fluid relationship; it is not rigid. It is capable of adaptation, as we have seen. India has come into the Commonwealth as a Republic. It has been made possible for her to do that. Other countries have followed suit. There will have to be more adaptation if the countries of Africa are to come in, as they are coming in gradually now. And I think because of the fluidity and lack of rigidity in the Commonwealth that it will adapt itself to all the changes necessary in the near future. That relationship will be of much value to us, as well as to all the countries associated in that idea.

Edwardes: The ideal relationship, which I hope the Commonwealth represents and will continue to represent, is a relationship of neighbours.

Mrs. Pandit: Yes, that is true. We have to be neighbours in the best sense of the word. We have to share things. We have to share things with each other; and so long as we are at the receiving end of the line we are never going to be able to pull our weight. I feel that India has a great deal to give; there are many things she can give, just as there are many things she has to take from the West and from the Commonwealth. When there is a real two-way traffic between this giving and the taking, I think we shall have established the real relationship that we want with Britain.

Edwardes: At the moment, is there any kind of possible co-operation that you feel to be unexploited?

Mrs. Pandit: I feel that the co-operation so far has been on the higher levels, on the governmental levels and the smaller group levels; and that is good and has been valuable. Without it we could not have even begun our economic planning. But there is something far more important, and that is the humblest skills for which one has to go down to the village. I am thinking of cooperation on that level. That will be the moment when the average man, or the little man, will identify himself with the progress of India. He is not going to enthuse over the great Bhakra-Nangal dam, or some other big scheme; but he will be enthusiastic over the little skills, the building up of the small things in his village or in the countryside, where he has his home. That, I think, ought to be exploited and used to the fullest extent very quickly, before the people become discontented and disillusioned.

Revolution by Peasant Armies

Edwardes: It is peasant armies that carry out revolution in Asia now, not intellectuals.

Mrs. Pandit: That is so. If we can get this sort of thing going, I do think we have the real basis for economic planning, because all the things that are being done at the top will then meet somewhere half-way with the grass roots; and we shall then be fairly far along the road to a stable economy. There are so many things that have to be done. For instance, talking of these humbler skills, we could have an exchange of farmers.

There has often been criticism of our surveying: we could have surveyors and mechanics and electricians. All these people can come down; and through them and their assistance in sorting these humbler skills, as we are calling them, we shall have found much more employment than those large industries which are seeking to solve the unemployment problem of India, and building up a better standard of living. What I would like to see is young British men and women coming out to India to work on this level; to identify themselves with the ideals and the aspirations of India, and take back with them when they return a sense of what India is and what she is striving for.—*Third Programme*.

26. A.K. Sen to Nehru³⁰

[Refer to item 29]

New Delhi,
13th March, 1960

My dear Prime Minister,

You remember that you sent me certain papers with the comments of Shri Gian Singh Rarewala on the facts supplied by us by Sardar Partap Singh Kairon and my views thereon. I also heard Shri Gian Singh Rarewala at his request. It seems that it would be necessary to examine the following persons:

1. Shri Gansal, Superintending Engineer, Patiala.
2. Shri J.S. Claire, Superintending Engineer, Disposal Circle.
3. Shri B.S. Bansal, now Superintending Engineer, Project Circle.
4. Shri Jaswant Singh, Executive Engineer, Tubewells, Civil Division.

30. Letter.

5. Shri S.N. Kapur, Chief Engineer.
6. Shri R.L. Khanna, Chief Engineer.

I shall indicate on what points the evidence of these gentlemen will be necessary.

(a) Re. Shri Bansal and Shri Jaswant Singh. Shri Jaswant Singh and Shri Bansal were associated from the beginning with the transaction relating to the tubewell in question. Shri Jaswant Singh inspected the tubewell in question on the direction of Shri Bansal and reported on the performance of the tubewell. Shri Jaswant Singh also reported on the cost and recommended that Chakbandi of the areas irrigated by the tubewell should be readjusted. Shri Bansal sent the report to the Chief Engineer, Shri Batra (deceased). Shri Rarewala says in his comments that the tubewell was very useful (Para V). Shri Rarewala also says that his lands are impartible and, therefore, were not subject to the ceilings imposed. The land owners in the areas were clamouring for irrigation and put forward their proposal that either a new tubewell should be sunk under the T.C.M. Project or the tubewell in question should be acquired or purchased by the Government (paragraph VII - page 6 of Shri Rarewala's comments). Shri Rarewala says that it was upon this that Shri Batra referred the matter to the Superintending Engineer Shri Bansal who in his turn requested Shri Jaswant Singh to make a report. Shri Batra is dead. Therefore, the only two persons who can testify as to the correctness either of Shri Rarewala's contention or of the allegations against Shri Rarewala, are Shri Bansal and Shri Jaswant Singh. It will, therefore, be necessary for the Prime Minister to send for these two men and ask them about the correctness or otherwise of Shri Rarewala's contention.

(b) Re. J.S. Gill, Shri J.S. Claire and Shri R.L. Khanna. Shri Gill visited the tubewell on 21-12-57 and reported on 16-1-58 that he was in favour of the Government purchasing the tubewell. The Chief Engineer, Shri R.L. Khanna who succeeded Shri Batra asked Shri Gill to supply certain further information. Shri Gill in his report discussed the points referred to him by the Chief Engineer and also indicated the price of the tubewell. Shri J.S. Gill and Shri J.S. Claire were also members of the committee for assessing the price of the tubewell. They should be examined to find out whether they were any time sought to be influenced by Shri Rarewala as regards making an estimate for the price of the tubewell.

(c) Re. Shri S.N. Kapur. Shri Kapur succeeded Shri R.L. Khanna as the Chief Engineer. It is stated in the facts submitted by Sardar Kairon (para 14 - page 10) that there was a meeting between Shri Kapur and Shri Gill on 3-7-58 at which Shri Kapur suggested to Shri Gill that the

price of the tubewell should be reassessed and Shri Gill reassessed the price of the tubewell. The suggestion is that all this was done at the instance of Shri Rarewala. It is therefore necessary that Shri Kapur should be examined to find out the truth of the suggestion.

2. In paragraphs IX-XIV of the comments of Shri Rarewala facts regarding the price of the tubewell as ultimately settled are given. Shri Gill, Shri Bansal, Shri Kapur and the other witnesses will be able to give evidence regarding the correctness of Shri Rarewala's contention. It seems that the main contention of Shri Rarewala appears to be that the price of the tubewell was revised so as to include the cost of structure and other things put up by him. This was done genuinely and without any pressure from him.

3. In order to arrive at a correct appreciation of the facts and also find out whether Shri Rarewala exercised any influence in bringing about the transaction and settling the price it seems necessary that the above witnesses should be examined on the points indicated above.

I am sending all the papers with this.

Yours sincerely,
A.K. Sen

27. Durgabai Deshmukh to Nehru³¹

[Refer to item 139]

13th March, 1960

I have a copy of Shri Sanjeeviah's letter of the 5th March 1960, kindly sent by you.

Dr. Shrimali has also written to the Chief Minister, Andhra Pradesh, suggesting that the status quo should be maintained until a discussion has taken place between him and the Planning Commission, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation. I am trying to see if this meeting originally proposed to be held in April 1960 could be arranged during the third week of this month, when the Andhra Chief Minister will be here for the National Development Council meeting.

In my letters of the 24th and 26th February 1960 to you, I have analysed the consequences of the recent orders of the Andhra Pradesh Government, and in this letter it should not be necessary for me to repeat all I have stated. I

31. Copy of letter; salutation and signature not available.

have, however, to refer to points arising out of Shri Sanjeeviah's letter which require some elucidation. Shri Sanjeeviah has not confined his letter only to the programmes for women and children in the rural areas for which the Central Social Welfare Board is responsible at present under the arrangements with the Ministry of Community Development which had the approval of the Central Committee of the Planning Commission and of yourself. After referring to certain other programmes also undertaken by the State Government by the Department of Women's Welfare and to certain administrative arrangements of a period prior to the starting of the programme of integrated projects which are not strictly relevant to the matter now under consideration, the Chief Minister proceeds to detail the arrangements now contemplated by the State Government for the future organisation of welfare services for women and children in the rural areas. In between, he has failed to refer to the existing set-up and the working of the projects under the present pattern. These have always been implemented by voluntary organisations or through Project Implementing Committee which are in themselves a model of coordination for the PICs consisting of representatives of non-official organisations and other social workers and also the block officials and nominees of the Block Development Committee. It is well known that the Community Development programme did not provide adequately both in terms of funds and personnel for assisting and encouraging the programmes for women and children as the main emphasis in that programme has been on food production, irrigation, roads, etc. and this was partly the reason why the integrated programme on the present pattern was adopted.

The Chief Minister says: "in spite of these known defects, our Government with a view to implement the recommendations of the Central Information Consultative Committee on Community Development agreed to hand over the programme for women and children to the State Social Welfare Advisory Board in all Community Development Blocks started after 1.4.1957". He enumerated certain handicaps of the State Board which make it difficult for it to secure the services of the suitable workers.

- (1) As there is no regular service constituted for employees under the State Board and no chances of promotion and the quality of their work suffers;
- (2) The PICs have no roots in the project area nor do they represent the women of the area in the proper sense of the term, and so have been unable to secure adequate cooperation and assistance from the people;
- (3) The supervision over the work is anything but adequate;
- (4) The State Social Welfare Advisory Board could make a start only in six out of the 18 blocks allotted, and had expressed its inability to start the work for want of trained personnel, etc., and the State Government had to issue

orders that the Panchayat Samitis themselves should take up this important work.

I would like to deal with these points seriatim.

(1) Our organisation depend as much, if not more, on the voluntary workers as on paid workers. While the field work is carried on by the latter, the other important parts of the work of organisation, supervision and collection of public contributions, etc. have always been carried out by voluntary workers. We have also a team of Inspectors and Welfare Officers to guide and supervise this work.

(2) I am surprised to note that the Project Implementing Committee has no roots in the Project area nor that they do not represent the women of the area in the proper sense of the term. If the Chief Minister means that they are not elected, he is right; but otherwise all the members of the PICs have to be and are from the project area from within the Block. I am also able to say that our PICs have been able to obtain people's cooperation and public contributions have materialised according to expectation in a large many cases.

(3) As I said above, we have a regular system of supervision done partly by voluntary workers and partly by paid staff and I can say that almost all the centres have been visited and supervised by one or other of them in addition to the periodicals visits by the members of the Central and State Boards.

Here I must say that the number of Blocks is determined by the Community Development Ministry and the State Government and not by the State Board. Of the 18 Blocks allotted for 1958-59, list finally revised by the Community Development Ministry in January, 1959, the Central Board received proposals for 11 from the State Board. Eight have been sanctioned and in six works was commenced before December 1959. The sanction for the three others has been held because the State Government was contemplating a departure from the Agreed pattern of organisation and assistance to these projects culminating in their recent orders.

Actually, endless difficulties and delays were caused by the State Government in respect of the Community Development blocks allotted for 1957-58. The State Government first gave a list quite different from that of new blocks given by the Ministry of Community Development. Sometime after this was straightened out by November 1957, they suggested that Welfare Extension Projects should be started in some of the experimental "Samiti" blocks; and when this was settled somewhat later, difficulties were raised about funds not being fully available. The Ministry of Community Development had been kept informed of all these difficulties and they had helped in solving them. But the time all these were tied up by the 30th September 1958, we decided, in

consultation with the Ministry of Community Development, that projects need not be started in blocks of the 1957-58 series except where definite commitments had been made.

The picture would be complete only if a brief account is given of what the Central Social Welfare Board's organisation has achieved during the last five years in the Andhra Pradesh. These are (1) grants given to 282 voluntary organisations, totalling Rs. 18.96 lakhs, (2) 44 Welfare Extension Projects started, with 242 centres, employing 39 Mukhya Sevikas, 218 gram sevikas, 71 craft instructors, 133 dais, and 8 balwadi teachers, after arranging for their training; brought in some 300 women to work full-time and honorary in the projects alone, not counting those working with aided institutions; raised nearly Rs. 4 lakhs as contributions for project expenditure; as against a grant of Rs. 1.74 lakhs for buildings at 54 centres, secured 11.85 acres of land and contributions of Rs. 1.99 lakhs; sponsored 5 After-care Homes and 7 District Shelters; assisted 18 institutions to start condensed courses of training for adult women, 2 Welfare Extension Projects in slum areas in the towns and 5 Night Shelters; started two production units for women of the low-income group; and trained 14 craft instructors further in handicrafts, and 13 as Ambar Charkha instructors.

I am not aware that the State Social Welfare Advisory Board expressed any inability to start the programme. Nor did the State Govt. consult the Central Social Welfare Board on this matter at any time, and it is not correct to say that the "State Government had to issue orders that Panchayat Samitis themselves should take up this important work" for that reason. There is one other matter which I must refute and this is, that the Andhra Pradesh State Board "welcomed this idea and accepted the change and desired that the programme should be run by the Standing Committee" of the Panchayat. I do not know if the Chief Minister is aware of the further correspondence between the State Board Chairman and the State Government arising out of the hurried recording at a recent meeting of the State Board, of certain conclusions on a matter not put on the agenda and without the slightest reference to the Central Social Welfare Board. The Chairman, Andhra Pradesh State Social Welfare Advisory Board wrote to the State Government in her letter of the 20th November 1959 within ten days of the Resolution stating that the members had not sufficient time to consider the proposal in all its implications and that it required further detailed examination. The so called 'Resolution' does not purport to be anything more than a recommendation for the due consideration of the Central Board. It was not competent to the State Board to take a decision on the matter of policy which affects the agreement between the Central Board and the Ministry of Community Development approved by the Central Committee and which has country-wide repercussions. The State Govt should have been aware that on a

matter like this, they should not have precipitated a decision nor could they now seek strength from an expression of opinion so recorded. I have had further discussion with the State Board Chairman and Members. There was a Conference specially convened in February last at Rajahmundry, attended by all the Project Chairmen and mukhya sevikas and the Chairman and Members of the State Board, Andhra Pradesh, to consider this issue at which the opinion was unanimous that no such change would be desirable immediately.

As I had made it clear in my letters above cited, this is not a question which affects one State only or the Central Social Welfare Board only. The Central Social Welfare Board would gladly hand over this work to the Panchayat Samitis if that is going to be the decision of the Govt of India. But having initiated the programme which has now caught up and has been making a significant impact on the people, it is my duty to bring it to your kind notice that I and the Members of the Central Social Welfare Board are unanimously of the opinion that this is a change which is fraught with grave consequences to the specialised welfare work among women and children. The Central Social Welfare Board has, as a matter of policy undertaken only such work as has not been undertaken by other agencies, governmental or non-governmental, and if any particular part of its work is taken over by an agency, able to do it, it would have no objection, since it can very well devote attention to its other programmes. In taking a decision on this question, it must be remembered that on the language of the orders of the Andhra Pradesh Government, there would not be any scope left for voluntary organizations—not merely those set up by the Central Social Welfare Board—but for any voluntary organisation such as Sarva Seva Sangh, Ramakrishna Mission, Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust, Bharat Sevak Samaj, etc., etc., to function except in subordination to the Panchayat Samitis. The order reads: "It is the intention of the Government that there should not be any other parallel organisation in a Block apart from the Samithi which is the sole authority for the all-sided development of the Block". The Chief Minister has only affirmed that this would be the result of those orders in stressing the recommendation of the recent Staff Conference of Development Commissioners that "No development programme including that for women and children should be entrusted independently to any parallel body or organization". We have in the Plan stressed public cooperation and participation expressing itself through voluntary effort and voluntary organisations and this would involve a major change of policy. Voluntary organisations with their long record of service will certainly not accept such a position. The State Government's proposal is not really for coordination but for subordination of all other agencies and is bound to be resented by these agencies, as it undermines their initiative and freedom.

If my reading of the Government orders is right—I wish it were not—but the foregoing analysis confirms my fears, then no voluntary organisation would be able to function as hitherto. If that is the logical result the issue will also have a bearing on the grants-in-aid programme of the Board and of all governmental agencies and there will be no need to assist or bring up voluntary organisations at all. Out of all this certain basic questions arise, which require an answer: (1) Can Government hope to undertake all work necessary in the field of Social Welfare, and completely exclude the voluntary organisations? (2) Is not the independence and initiative of voluntary organisations a valuable asset, which we should do everything possible to preserve? (3) Does not coordination imply concerted action by several independent agencies, or does it mean subordination of voluntary organisations to a sole governmental authority as is contemplated in the scheme suggested in the orders of Andhra Government? (4) Will voluntary organisations accept such a position and otherwise, should they be allowed to pass out of existence? There are important issues which are soon bound to arise in several States, and your guidance has become essential. I request you to give serious consideration to these issues and give guidance at the forthcoming session of the National Development Council after a full discussion of these matters.

28. A.M. Khwaja's Letter³²

[Refer to item 205]

Sir,—there was a report in the press about a discussion on the affairs of Aligarh Muslim University in the Lok Sabha on March 2. Among other things, it was alleged by a member that I had sold some land to the University at an inflated price. I had supplied the University with documentary proof establishing beyond doubt, that there was not an iota of truth in the allegation. I know that this information was passed on by the University to the Ministry of Education before discussion.

The facts briefly are as follows: Nineteen plots of land belonging to my wife, and comprising 85,029 $\frac{3}{8}$ square yards, were sold to the University for Rs. 2, 42,667, which comes to a little less than Rs. 2/14 per square yard. This land was assessed by the revenue officers of Aligarh in connection with its proposed purchase by the Union Government at Rs $\frac{3}{8}$ per square yard. The Wealth Tax Office, Aligarh, also assessed the land at $\frac{3}{8}$ per square yard and

32. Published in the Readers' Forum, *National Herald*, 13 March 1960.

my wife was actually taxed on this basis. So, far from being sold to the University at an inflated price, it was actually sold at a rate which would work out at about Rs 2/14 per square yard, as a national institution was purchasing it.

A.M. Khwaja
Sami Manzil
Aligarh

29. Jagjivan Ram to Nehru³³

[Refer to item 150]

Minister for Railways
India
New Delhi-2
12th March, 1960
14

My dear Jawaharlalji,

Re: Diesel Locomotive manufacture

[...] Taking these factors into consideration, we have planned the electrification of about 250 miles per annum in the Third Five Year Plan, providing electric locomotive power only for heavy freight traffic. Passenger trains and slow sectional goods trains will continue to be worked by steam locomotives. Our assessment is that during the Third Five Year Plan, we will be able to manufacture an average of 60 electric locomotives at Chittaranjan, in addition to the present output of 168 steam locomotives per annum. This programme of electric locomotive manufacture implies that starting from about 40 locomotives in the first year, the manufacture will progressively increase to about 80 or 90 locomotives by the end of the Third Plan. The demand for electric locomotives in each successive Plan will not only arise from the newly electrified sections, but also to meet the increase in traffic on sections which had been previously electrified. This demand will, therefore, keep on mounting. A gradual replacement of steam locomotives operating passenger trains on electrified sections will also be attempted in suitable phases.

[...] 10. The next question to consider is whether it would be appropriate to entrust diesel locomotive manufacture to the private sector. Two types of diesel locomotives are in use—(1) diesel electric locomotives where electric

33. Extract of letter. File No. 17/385/60-66-PMS.

power is generated by the diesel engine and transmitted to the traction motors for propelling the locomotive, and (2) diesel hydraulic where the diesel engine transmits the rotary motion through a hydraulic gear to the locomotive wheels. U.S.A. has specialised in the technique of No. 1 and Germany in No. 2. No.1 is particularly advantageous for sections with heavy gradients where the dynamic braking provided on these locomotives is helpful in controlling heavy loads of trains on downgrades and allows greater efficiency. On level roads, the diesel hydraulic is better. The transmission technique for heavier power has been developed recently.

[...] 11. If, therefore, the public sector were to undertake the manufacture of these locomotives, we will have to collaborate with both the parties, namely, the American and the German. We will have to set up a separate workshop for these and divide up the work in such a manner that collaboration with the two parties may be practicable. Our investment will be decidedly much higher than in the case of the private sector. The two parties that have been chosen for this purpose after a very careful consideration will have separate foreign collaborators and will only supplement their existing workshops and equipment to the extent needed. Besides the two parties which were ultimately selected, discussions were held with Tatas and Kirloskers, but they did not evince such interest in the manufacture of the particular type of diesel engines which we want. Tatas also wanted a guaranteed off take. We had, therefore, to accept the two parties which volunteered without any guarantee from our side as to the number of locomotives we will purchase.

12. In coming to the decision that this task may be entrusted to the private parties concerned, we were guided by the following considerations:

- (1) The parties concerned already have workshops and some equipment which can be used for this purpose with suitable supplementation.
- (2) They can obviously undertake this work with much less investment than what we will need. Texmaco have estimated their foreign exchange requirement at Rs. 1.14 crores and National Engineering Industries at Rs. 1.74 crores.
- (3) With outside collaborators, private parties are in a somewhat advantageous position.
- (4) We are not giving any guarantee as to the number of locomotives which we will purchase every year. This will depend upon our varying demand. They may, however, also cater to other indigenous needs of diesel engines for industrial use, including a small requirement of locomotives for others.
- (5) They could advantageously enter the export market as there is a big demand for these locomotives in the neighbouring countries.

The question of manufacturing marine diesels in the same unit which manufactures railway locomotives or vice versa has been considered at an interdepartmental committee and it has been decided that it need not be done together. High power marine diesel engine will need entirely different equipment for manufacture.

13. Private parties have agreed to quote competitive price in relation to those ruling in the world and these will naturally have to be negotiated from year to year. I am afraid whatever work we entrust to the private sector, the difficulty of pricing must remain. Railways, however, have been handling this pricing question in relation to a large variety of their needs without much difficulty. All our wagon and signalling equipment worth crores is being obtained for years from the private sector.

The difficulty in regard to the pricing of locomotives obtained from Tatas has arisen mainly due to the complicated nature of the agreement which was entered into with them in the year 1945 according to which the incidence of developmental costs, evaluation of depreciations and profits etc. entered into the price structure as we have to pay on cost plus basis—a feature which does not apply to the arrangements proposed in connection with diesel locomotive manufacture.

14. Due to the limitations of finance, public sector activities have been greatly restricted. [...]

Yours sincerely,
Jagjivan Ram

30 (a). C.D. Deshmukh to Nehru³⁴

[Refer to item 82]

14th March 1960

My dear Prime Minister,

I pass on to you a copy of a communication I have received for such action as you may deem it fit to take. I am not in a position to verify or “prove these charges”. Nor can I go out in the open to brave official wrath or defamation charges from the Customs.

Yours sincerely,
C.D. Deshmukh

34. Letter. C.D. Deshmukh Papers, NMML.

30 (b). An Indian from Mombasa to C.D. Deshmukh³⁵

[Refer to item 82]

Mombasa

4th March 1960

Mr. C.D. Deshmukh,
India

Corruption in India

Dear Sir,

With reference to your letter to our prime minister regarding above, I feel it becomes my duty as an Indian living abroad to point the following facts which are in existence in India and outside India. I think you are the proper person to take up this matter with the Government departments concerned. I shall be glad if you will kindly look into this matter and take up this matter in due course.

Indian Rupees: The value of the Indian Rupee is going down day by day in East Africa. The value at present is Shs 109/- (instead 150/-) for Rs 100/-. These notes are brought by the Arabs from the Persian Gulf. They sell these notes to the local money changers at Shs 105/- and the money changers are selling at 109/- or 110/- for Rs 100/-. Many money changers transferred their money Rs to India before the new law allowing passengers to take only 75/- outside/inside India. In view of this regulation, it becomes very difficult for passengers to take money more than Rs 75/- with them. If you will check with the banks in India, you will find only few drafts were issued by the local banks for transferring money into India. The reason of this new venture is this that the money changers are issuing notes (Jasa-chiti called by me) to their agents in India to pay the amount to their person concerned. They collect money here at the rate of Shs 129/00 per Rs 100/- and arrange it to pay in India. This type of smuggling should be stopped immediately. It becomes the duty of the Commissioner//Trade Commissioner of India to take up this matter with the Government of India, New Delhi, but I understand they have failed to do so. The Government of India should send three/four detectives outside India, i.e. in East Africa, Singapore and Middle East where many Indians are living. They should contact the local money changers and ask them to transfer the money inside India to their relatives (at the current rate). Their agents in India will naturally call at their relatives to pay the money. The first instance we should say the man has gone out, you can come tomorrow and one detective should

35. Letter. C.D. Deshmukh Papers, NMML.

be kept with him to find out the party, address etc. On the next day when the agents come to pay money they should be caught by the police for this smuggling, and the office should be sealed enable the Government to find out how many persons in India have received money illegally without the knowledge of the Reserve Bank of India. In my opinion these persons should be hanged as there is no alternative if you wish to stop this matter.

Gold: Many Arabs are bringing gold illegally in East Africa. They sell to the local gold smiths. The value per one tola is Shs 115/- They charge Shs 2/ per tola for rough ornaments. Passengers while coming to India are buying these ornaments are selling in India at Rs 134/- per tola i.e. they get profit of Shs 78/- (Rs 50/-) per tola.

Customs at Bombay: The free porters are hired by the customs officers. They ask the passengers to pay Rs 50/- to 100/- to pass through Customs without any difficulty. Passengers naturally like to pay as they have got gold, and other dutiable cargo with them. It is not possible to pass through Porbandar Customs as they are very strict. To pass through Bombay is very easy by paying Rs 50/-. The Government of India should also keep some detectives at the Customs Office, Bombay and should catch officers immediately.

Railways: During my last visit to India, I have found many people are travelling without tickets and are paying Rs 1/- to the ticket collector (checker).

Is there any way of stopping these types of smuggling/ corruption?

I have not given my address in this letter as I do not want to involve in any case but I will definitely thank you if you get success in your new move "How to stop corruption."

I am very sorry for wasting your time by writing this letter.

Yours faithfully,
One Indian living
abroad

31. Mulraj Kersondas to Nehru³⁶

[Refer to item 190]

15th March, 1960

My dear Panditji,

In 1946, and before the coming of Independence I had submitted to you, a scheme of putting up a fertiliser plant in several states in India which were

36. Letter.

functioning under Congress ministries. I had also sent a draft scheme of the same to various state ministers, including U.P., Madhya Pradesh, Bombay, etc. I had also visited the capitals of U.P., Madhya Pradesh, Bombay etc. and saw the ministers personally and explained to them that the food shortage was likely to increase in the country as our population was growing, and the yield per acre of food grain in India was the least in the world. Therefore, in order to prepare for the coming difficulties, it was advisable that each state should have a fertiliser plant. I had also promised that state that if they put up the plant, I will be able to secure for them 50% of the capital required from the private sector. Of course, my suggestion was only for 50,000 tons annual production plants; the capital cost of the same was then estimated at about 1 ½ crores. With the exception of the Nawab of Bhopal who agreed and gave his consent to a plant being put in his state, none of the other provinces or the states were willing to put up the plants as suggested, and the scheme in Bhopal could not be carried through because of the coming up of Pakistan.

I am, however, glad that the Planning Commission, as reported in the paper, has now suggested putting up a fertiliser plant in almost every state; and I am sure that the increased yield per acre that we will get by the extensive use of fertilisers, will produce enough good grains, and at a cheaper cost for the country, to save it from the huge imports of food grains that are out of necessity forced on the country.

During the last few years however, we have developed [in] this country, a small gas plant where mythil [methane] gas is produced by a very simple process, from cow dung. This is done by putting cowdung with some water into a sort of small tank either of steel or of brick and mortar hermetically sealed and allowed to ferment and mythil [methane] gas and carbondioxide are taken out by two pipes. This was tried about 10 years in the agricultural farm at Pusa, near Delhi, and thereafter it has been successfully tried at various individual small farms.

If such a plants are made on a vast scale and put in every village, it can produce enough fertilisers required by the country, because the cowdung taken out of the tank after fermentation, contain 2 [...] times more nitrogen than the original cow dung, and is accepted as one of the best fertilisers. If such a scheme is put into effect, it will also provide the villages with gas for lightning and cooking, and the cost will be very low, with nothing to be imported from outside countries, as will be the case in case of importing fertiliser plants. Its manufacturing cost will also be negligible as raw material is practically a waste.

I would therefore, like to suggest that a trial should be taken of this plant in a few groups of about 20 villages. In Saurashtra, the Sarvodya Mandal have put in a few such small plants at a cost of about Rs 300 each; but each as they

are only for individual forms, if we put up three or four times the bigger size, that might cost about Rs 1000 each, and for hundred such plants the cost will only be a lakh of rupees. If with this little spending in a couple of months, such plants could be prepared either through village industries department or other voluntary organisation and trials taken in another two or three months, so that in six months' time you could be in a position to gauge the possibility whether this scheme would be more beneficial than the putting up of big fertiliser plants. I will, therefore, request you to consider this gas plant method, for the sake both of economy and encouraging of village industries and giving a better life to villages. As this gas could be utilised for cooking proposes, it will also save a lot of tree cutting habits of the people as this habit is depleting of forest resources also to certain extents.

My suggestion for trial of this plant in groups of 20, is made for the reason that sometimes there are some defeats of choking up or other small irregularities which stops fermentation and giving out of the gas; hence a mechanic is required to clean up the pipes or to remove any small defects or leakages, which will be very costly and uneconomic for a single plant. But, if one mechanic is put in charge of a group of 20 or so, the cost will be negligible, and the plant kept in full working order.

I trust you and your planning experts will kindly give a thought to this process.

With regards,
Yours sincerely,
Mulraj Kersondas

32. C. Subramaniam to Nehru³⁷

[Refer to items 84 and 85]

15th March, 1960

I am in receipt of your letters of March 8 and March 10 with the enclosed copy of the letter from Shri Deshmukh regarding the acquisition of land for Thiagaraya College, Madurai and just now I received your latest letter dated 13th March. I am sorry there was some delay in replying to the letters. The relevant papers had got dispersed in connection with the pending litigation and it took some time to get at all the papers and gather the facts.

37. Copy of letter; salutation and signature not available.

Sri Deshmukh has asked for clarification on some points. He further seems to imply that this is a case of corruption or an improper exercise of power which should be enquired into by a Tribunal. I shall mention certain facts which would clear the doubts raised by him both as regards facts and also law. In this connection, I would request you to peruse also the letters written by our Chief Minister, Sri Kamaraj, and also by myself in respect of this matter.

Sri Deshmukh has stated that Sri Kumaraswami Raja, the then Chief Minister of Madras, had left a note after considering all the objections that the whole area should be acquired. It is true that Sri Kumaraswami Raja left a note on 16-6-1950 that the entire area should be acquired. He has recorded that he inspected the locality and also the college premises. The occasion for him to record that note was prior to the issue of the notification under Section 4(1) of the Land Acquisition Act. Sri Theagaraya Chettiar had applied to the Collector for acquisition as early as 1949. Some of the owners after having come to know of the application for acquisition, of their own accord sent objections to the Government. It was in that connection that Sri Kumaraswami Raja stated that the entire extent should be acquired. The stage for considering the objections, according to the Land Acquisition Act, is not the stage at which Sri Kumaraswami Raja inspected the locality and considered the matter. It is only by the issue of the notification under Section 4(1) that the owners are fixed with notice of the proposed acquisition and it is only thereafter that the owners are given an opportunity to file their objections. It may be noted that it was only after the issue of the notification under Section 4(1) in this case that many people came forward with their objections. Therefore, the opinion of Sri Kumaraswami Raja cannot be taken to have been based after taking into consideration all the aspects of the case.

The preliminary notification under Section 4(1) of the Land Acquisition Act was published in the *Fort St. George Gazette* dated 4-9-1951. That was during the Ministry headed by Sri Kumaraswami Raja. The proposal was to acquire an extent of 59.67 acres. Owners of some of the lands preferred objections which were considered by the Collector of Madurai and subsequently by the Board of Revenue. The Board of Revenue agreed with the Collector that the objections may be overruled and recommended to the Government that the objections may be overruled and that the notification under Section 6 of the Land Acquisition Act may be issued. The Government accepted this recommendation and called for a draft declaration under Section 6. In the meanwhile, one Smt. Manikka Ranganayaki Ammal, owner of one of the lands proposed to be acquired preferred her objections. In communicating the decision of the Government overruling the objections already considered, the Government sent a copy of the petition received from Smt. Manikka Ranganayaki Ammal

and instructed the Collector to see that those objections were also taken into consideration before the draft declaration under Section 6 of the Land Acquisition Act was sent to the Government for publication. It would be seen from the above that it cannot be said that all the objections were considered and overruled by the Government. In fact, even after the Government called upon the Collector to send a draft declaration under Section 6 after considering the objections of Smt. Manikka Ranganayaki Ammal, objections from some others also were received. An objection was received from the editor of the Tamil daily paper, *Dinamani*, stating that if the land where the printing press of the paper was located was acquired, it would result in closing down the paper for at least a period of one year before they could find an alternative place and that it would put them to great hardship and financial loss. The editor of the paper, therefore, requested that the place where the office and the press were situated might be excluded from the acquisition. Sri M. V. Krishna Rao, the then Education Minister under Rajaji's ministry, recorded that in view of the utility service rendered by the newspaper the area occupied by the newspaper might be excluded from the acquisition proceedings. When the matter came up to me, I endorsed the view of Sri M. V. Krishna Rao and also asked the then Chief Minister, Sri Rajaji, to consider the question whether the College should be allowed to be built up in the heart of the town while good site is available about six miles from the town. I also raised the query whether costly sites suitable for residential purposes should be acquired at high cost for locating the college. It was with reference to my above minute, Sri Rajaji recorded as follows on 6-10-1952:-

"This case of acquisition was closed and it would be impracticable to reopen the whole question on the grounds stated by the Finance Minister. With regard to the portion occupied by the newspaper, the position is different. The Collector may be asked to suspend the proceedings with regard to that portion of the site and send particulars and suggestions in view of the present objection."

The file was circulated to the then Governor, Sri Sri Prakasa, as he had expressed his desire to see it at that stage. The Collector was asked to send particulars in the light of the minutes of Sri Rajaji. When the file was re-circulated to him, Sri Rajaji recorded as follows on 17-11-1952:—

"I feel I committed a mistake in over-ruling the objection raised by the Finance Minister. Is there any way of reopening the decision in asking the Collector and the Board to consider and report afresh all the objections raised by Smt. Ranganayaki Ammal and others as well as on the feasibility of the college finding grounds outside the city instead of trying to acquire lands in this area which is said to be heavy 'industrially' or 'residentially' according to notifications issued from time to time or would it be improper

to reopen it now.”

The concerned department pointed out that only a notification under Section 4(1) of the Land Acquisition Act had been issued, that if the acquisition was to be withdrawn, it could be done by issuing a notification under Section 48 and that there would be no need to pay any compensation as the land had not been taken possession of. Sri Shanmuga Rajeswara (Raja of Ramnad), the then Minister, expressed his view against withdrawal and for continuing the acquisition proceedings. But Sri M.V. Krishna Rao, the Education Minister, felt that the Government might withdraw the acquisition proceedings for the reasons stated by Sri Rajaji and that it might be still possible for the college to acquire cheaper alternative sites. Sri Rajaji directed that the matter might be considered at a Cabinet meeting. Accordingly, the matter was placed before the Cabinet which decided that the question of acquisition should be re-examined with a view to ascertain whether it would be sufficient if a lesser area comprising a total extent of 27.15 acres was acquired. The Collector of Madurai was accordingly requested to consult Sri Theagaraya Chettiar. The Collector reported that Sri Chettiar had replied that 27.15 acres would not be sufficient for the extension of the college. Thereupon, the matter was again placed before the Cabinet in August 1953 and the following order was passed:-

“The Collector may be asked to contact Sri Theagaraya Chettiar and find out finally and definitely whether he will take the 27 acres referred to in the note and look out for the balance of land required somewhere else, which though not contiguous, may be close by. If he is not agreeable to this course, the entire proposals will be dropped.”

The Collector of Madurai informed the Government that Shri Chettiar was not giving a proper reply and that finally when Sri Chettiar was given a definite time within which he should send his reply, he stated without giving a definite reply that he would, show the site to the Chief Minister when he visited Madurai. Sri Chettiar did not take Sri Rajaji to show him the site as he appears to have told the Collector nor did he speak to Sri Rajaji about this. No definite action was taken thereafter before Sri Rajaji ceased to be the Chief Minister. After Sri Kamaraj became the Chief Minister, the matter was again considered and the original Cabinet decision to restrict the acquisition to 27.15 acres was reiterated and Sri Chettiar was asked to give his reply. He was also informed that if no reply was received within ten days of receipt of the communication, the Government would withdraw the acquisition proceedings.

Sri Deshmukh has stated that it would be worth investigating how much of the land originally proposed to be acquired belonged to Sri Subbaraj, MLA, or the members of his family and how much of the 27 acres proposed to be acquired belonged to either Sri Subbaraj or the members of his family. Sri

Theagaraya Chettiar appears to think that the Government decided to acquire a lesser area owing to the "undue influence" exercised by Sri Subbaraj. I may state that Sri Subbaraj has no personal interest in any of the lands proposed to be acquired. Sri Subbaraj says that even when he was a boy, he had been adopted in another family and that his natural father, Sri Suppan Chettiar, and his other sons alone have interest in a portion of the land proposed to be acquired. The extent proposed to be acquired under the notification under Section 4(1) was 59.67 acres. Out of this extent, 37.58 acres belong to Sri Suppan Chettiar and his sons and his other co-sharers. Out of the extent of 27.15 acres which the Government offered to acquire if Sri Chettiar agreed, about half belongs to Sri Suppan Chettiar and his other sons. Out of the 32 acres proposed to be left out of the acquisition, about 13 to 14 acres belong to other people.

Sri Deshmukh appears to have been wrongly informed about the location of the college. It is not three miles out of the city and two miles beyond small industrial enterprises as he appears to have been informed. The area is within municipal limits and there are small industrial units around the area proposed to be acquired. Madurai is the second biggest city in this State and is developing industrially. Sri Deshmukh seems to attribute to the Government the delay in completing the acquisition proceedings and says that the gravest defect in the procedure followed by the Madras Government is that the proceedings have been allowed to drift for eight long years. I wish to point out that Sri Deshmukh is not justified in making this charge against the Madras Government. It is Sri Chettiar who inspite of several reminders was avoiding giving a definite reply to the Government's decision to restrict the extent of land to be acquired and he was putting off the issue from 1953 to 1959. Except for the unavoidable administrative delay, the rest of the delay is entirely due to Sri Chettiar.

Sri Deshmukh has referred in his letter to Sri Theagaraya Chettiar's contention that the only thing left under the land acquisition proceedings is the issue of a relevant notification which would enable him to accept compensation and pay the money for the whole of the land applied for. This is not correct. The Land Acquisition Act contemplates several stages in the matter of acquisition. The earliest stage is the stage of issuing a preliminary notification under Section 4. Section 5-A contemplates the hearing of objections. In this case, the first stage is over. As regards the second stage, as I have already pointed out, only some of the objections were considered and only after considering the objections received subsequently, the Government thought it desirable to restrict the acquisition proceedings to an extent lesser than the extent shown in the Section 4(1) notification. The Government have to issue a notification under Section 6 stating that the land is required for a public purpose. That stage has not been reached. Before the declaration is issued, the Government have to require the

person concerned to deposit the probable amount that may have to be paid as compensation. Sri Chettiar would have it that a Special Officer appointed for the land acquisition valued the land at Rs.1. 25 lakhs. No such Special Officer was appointed. At first, a Revenue Inspector valued 50.70 acres at Rs.4.13 lakhs. The Collector of Madurai, a senior civilian, one Sri Arunachalam, ICS, inspected the property in December 1951 and reported to the

Government that the approximate cost would come to about Rs.12 to 13 lakhs. It is not correct to say that on the mere issue of a notification, Sri Chettiar has got only to pay the money as Sri Deshmukh has pointed out. What amount he has to pay as compensation is yet to be decided and it will have to be done according to law by an officer after notification under Section 6.

The above position as regards certain questions of fact and also of law would enable you to appreciate the case. I am unable to understand the implications of Sri Deshmukh's statement that this "case illustrates the inadequacy of the procedure which you propose to follow in investigating such cases." I am at a loss to understand what occasion is here to call for any investigation.

Sri Kamaraj has already written to you about the petition for writ of *mandamus* filed by Sri Chettiar in which Sri Chettiar has not hesitated to make certain frivolous allegations against him personally. The Government was always willing to help Sri Chettiar in developing the college. It is his unreasonable attitude that has necessitated the Government to come to the conclusion that the acquisition proceedings would have to be dropped. I have placed before you all the facts.

Under the circumstances mentioned above, we have to decide about the further course of action. As you have already indicated if Sri Theagaraya Chettiar would agree to limit the acquisition to 27 acres, we are willing to put through the acquisition proceedings. I do not think at this stage it will be possible for the Government to go beyond this. The question now is whether Sri Theagaraya Chettiar would be agreeable to this proposal. I shall also try to persuade him but I am not sure of making him agree to this proposal. If, however, the Vice-President could talk to him and make him agree, it would be quite welcome. It is for you to decide whether you should ask the Vice-President to intervene for this purpose.

33 (a). S. Dutt to N.R. Pillai³⁸*[Refer to item 233]*

I have no doubt that the East Germans are hustling us in this matter for reasons unconnected with scientific and cultural education. They want to take political advantage of any agreement that may result from the present visit of the East German delegation. I had my suspicion from the very beginning, as will be clear from my notes of December 18, 1958 (flag E) and April 4, 1959 (flag C), in this matter. Prof. Thacker entered upon a commitment without, I am sure, realising the political implications. He brought the papers personally to me in April 1959 and at that stage we could not get out of the commitment. However, this is just the wrong time for us to enter upon any formal agreement with the East German Government. Our attitude towards East Germany has been made clear on several occasions, the latest being at the time of the visit of the Deputy Prime Minister of East Germany a few weeks ago. The German problem has reached a crucial stage now and will be the main subject of discussion at the Summit Conference. If we were to enter upon any formal agreement with the East Germans, that would almost look like our taking sides in the German controversy. I have no doubt that by doing so we would only be creating a misunderstanding and not help the solution of the German problem in any manner. The East Germans have not contacted me at all, but I gather that they are seeing the Secretary-General and the Prime Minister. I suggest to SG that he might explain the position to the Prime Minister.

33 (b). Humayun Kabir to Nehru³⁹*[Refer to item 233]*

March 17, 1960

Thank you for your confidential letter No. 175-P.M.O./ 60 of March 17, 1960. It is very good of you to send me these four items which were presented to you by the delegation of educationists from East Germany. I am sending the book to the National Library, Calcutta, the album to the Lalit Kala Akademi and the two medallions to the National Physical Laboratory. I hope this has your approval.

38. Note, 15 March 1960. File No. 21(21)-Eur(W)/59, MEA.

39. Copy of letter; salutation not available. Humayun Kabir Papers, NMML.

I had already told Thacker that, while we should extend every courtesy to this East German Delegation, we should not enter into any commitment with them. I hear about the Draft Cultural Agreement yesterday, and I asked him to be very cautious about it and do nothing without consulting the Ministry of External Affairs.

A few days ago, I had heard that the Sangeet Natak Akademi wished to enter into some commercial agreement with them for producing some films, and I told the Ministry that we should be very careful and not approve of any such proposal till it had been thoroughly examined by the Ministry of External Affairs.

I am glad to find from your letter that this is the line which you would like us to adopt.

Humayun Kabir

34. S.K. Patil to Nehru⁴⁰

[Refer to item 146]

CONFIDENTIAL

Minister for Food & Agriculture,
Government of India
New Delhi,
March 16, 1960

My dear Prime Minister,

I find that at the Cabinet meeting held on the 5th March, which unfortunately I could not attend, it was decided that para 17 of the draft memorandum prepared by the Planning Commission for the next meeting of the National Development Council should be amended stating clearly that the previous decision of the N.D.C. in favour of state trading should be implemented. I fear that this would inevitably lead to our getting involved once again in the same sort of controversial discussion which we had previously. My immediate concern is that any further reiteration of Government's policy in the matter might adversely affect the market arrivals, particularly as the rabi harvest is now expected to be somewhat poorer than last year and the prices which have been more or less steady for some time may suddenly shoot up. I sincerely believe that the right policy

40. Letter. File No. 31(85)/58-60-PMS.

would be to avoid any further discussion on this subject either in the National Development Council or in Parliament where discussion is bound to take place if the matter is discussed in the NDC. All manner of difficulties will arise and the general confidence which, I feel has been created will be destroyed.

2. In the matter of food controls, there has to be a pragmatic approach, I can have no objection to state trading in foodgrains if that is necessary in the circumstances we are placed and its implementation is possible and if, on the whole, it is likely to give better results and greater satisfaction to the people. Except in a few surplus states, which for their own reasons want to cordon off their States and procure a part of their surplus at as high a price as the Centre or the deficit States would agree to and incidentally make a profit if possible, I have seen no enthusiasm for State trading in any of the other States. The numerous discussions which I have had with the State Governments and others have convinced me that State trading on the lines decided upon is not really practicable; in any case it is not likely to ensure price stability at a reasonable level throughout the country. If the prices tend to get out of control, due to deficit financing and other causes, we shall have to think of rigid controls in the shape of monopoly procurement direct from the producers and rationing. At this state, it does not seem, however, politically or administratively practicable. I have, therefore, come to the conclusion that the best way of dealing with the situation would be to arrange for some additional imports for a short period, since this can be done without such drain on foreign exchange, until our increased production catches up with the demand.

3. I advocate removal of cordons and free movement of foodgrains throughout the country not out of any special liking for free trade because I know that the trade can be upto mischief at any time. I do so because, firstly, I cannot think of any other way of removing the enormous disparity in price-level between contiguous States; secondly, smuggling goes on and will go on with all manner of attendant evils, however much we may want to stop it and thirdly, no justifiable reason can be advanced to the agriculturists in the surplus States why they should get much lower prices for their produce than their counter-part in the deficit States. The political effect of the last named factor and also the possibility that in the long run production may, to some extent, be discouraged in the surplus States by this cannot be ignored. It seems to me that we can afford to do away with the artificial restrictions on movement within the country which prevent equal sharing of good and bad harvests by all, if not immediately at least progressively because in the short run we propose to have adequate imports to meet difficulties which may arise anywhere and in the long run we are now planning to step up production to such an extent that we may be self-sufficient before the completion of the Third Plan.

4. I may mention for your information that the joining of Orissa with West Bengal has been working quite well. The prices in West Bengal have, after a little rise, declined and are more or less steady. There is a general feeling of easiness in the market and plenty of rice is available all over the State. The condition is infinitely better than it was last year when serious difficulty arose due to non-availability of supplies in the market. The prices in Orissa have also not gone up more than what was anticipated. The Orissa Government has opened some fair price shops in Cuttack, but the off take from these shops is insignificant indicating thereby that the price-level in the open market is still considered reasonable by the people. So far as Orissa and West Bengal are concerned, we can face the situation with the much greater confidence.

5. I am writing at some length in view of the complexity and importance of the matter. I may mention, however, that I have not said anywhere that state trading has been or is proposed to be given up as a policy. In fact, I have said in Parliament that the decision on State trading stands and that it will be implemented wherever considered practicable and desirable. Actually, purchase operations are going on in several States, viz, Assam, U.P., Orissa, Punjab, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh, I suggest that no further discussion on this matter is necessary or would be desirable.

Yours sincerely,
S.K. Patil

35. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit to Nehru⁴¹

[Refer to item 276]

9, Kensington Palace Garden
London, W.8
16-3-1960

Bhai dear,

I know Dickie has written to you about the possibility of a visit to Broadlands or, alternatively, dining with the immediate family at Wilton Crescent. You are not supposed to know I have knowledge of this letter but the fact is poor Dickie is in such a state that he seems to contact me daily on every sort of subject. He clings to those who knew and loved Edwina. So I have come to realize that he is very anxious that you should go to Broadlands. I know that a

41. Letter. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit Papers, NMML.

visit by you will help him and also Patricia and Pammy very much. The other reason is that Broadlands may not be kept up. If things are really as bad as they look now it may be impossible to keep it up. This might well be the last gathering in that beautiful home. I do hope you can go. Your first weekend is booked for Chequers but you are free from Friday afternoon the 13th May.

The other thing I want your decision on is whether we should have a small private dinner for friends. Originally I had discussed this with Edwina and we thought that besides her and Dickie we could have Rab and his wife and one other couple. Now I don't know what to do. Rab has asked you to his home so there is no point in inviting him back. I am keeping a free evening. Shall I go ahead and invite a few people—or perhaps you could let me know if you have anyone in mind.

I hate worrying you over trifles.

Love

Nan

36. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit to Nehru⁴²

[Refer to item 196]

Personal & Strictly
Confidential

March 16, 1960

Each year the C.R.O. at the suggestion of Malcolm MacDonald invites MPs and journalists from India and gives them red carpet treatment. Quite often these people are badly chosen and we get complaints about the demands they make afterwards. But more often we find that persons chosen are wrongly built up by Malcolm and are given treatment at this end which is not only undeserved but which is politically embarrassing for the High Commission. I have drawn Lord Home's attention to this repeatedly and have also spoken to Malcolm whom I found completely irresponsible in this matter.

Now we have Kripalani and Sucheta arriving here. I enclose the programme received from C.R.O. I do not mind anybody having a warm welcome in this country but I do not think Kripalani should have an interview with the Prime Minister or an official reception in his honour. One knows what he will say and since he is only one of the opposition leaders, there seems no reason why

42. Copy of letter; salutation and signature not available. Vijaya Lakshmi Papers, NMML.

special treatment is being accorded to him. A few years ago when he was here he talked in a most irresponsible manner and caused some trouble for us by his sharp and open criticism of Government. I had often spoken to him about this and suggested that such attacks were unseemly in a foreign country but this angered him. I have no doubt he will express his views on everything from Tibet to corruption in high places. I see no reason why a platform should be provided for him by the U.K. Government. Meanwhile though Sucheta is being widely wined and dined our instructions from M.J. Desai are that we should do nothing for her. This will be noticed immediately. I suppose I shall have to give a small party. It is all very confusing and high [ly] dangerous.

I am fed up at the way the Western Powers are trying to play God in our national life. Who are they to build up this or that one to serve their own ends. There is nothing we can do now but for the future please see that External Affairs points these things out delicately to Malcolm or his successor.

37. S. Dutt to Joint Secretary (West)⁴³

[Refer to item 47]

In regard to the first case, I asked JS(W) to enquire and let me know whether the two officers of the Central Excise, Madras, can be compelled to appear before a court in Pondicherry if they do not voluntarily do so. We shall be prepared to pay suitable compensation to the aggrieved person, but if he proves unreasonable, there will be no alternative to the processes issued by the Pondicherry Court not being accepted.

2. What exactly is the financial implication in case the judgement of the Supreme Court in Paris goes against the Pondicherry Administration and that judgement is considered to be binding on the lower courts in Pondicherry?

3. I also asked JS(W) to let me know what exactly are the reciprocal arrangements in regard to extradition, service of court processes etc., between Pondicherry and the rest of India.

4. When the case goes before the Foreign Affairs Committee, we shall have to be ready with our proposal about the setting up of Appellate Courts in Pondicherry, which would replace the present Court of Appeal in Paris.

43. Note, 16 March 1960. File No. 32-1/60-GP, MHA.

38. A.L. Mudaliar to C.D. Deshmukh⁴⁴*[Refer to item 94]*

17th March 1960

I am sorry I could not reply to your letter of March 9 earlier. I had been to Coimbatore and returned on the 16th, when I saw your letter. I am herewith sending you a full note on the subject.

1. When applying in October 1948 for the affiliation of a college, "Thiagarajar College", at Madurai, Shri Karumuttu Thiagaraja Chettiar stated that he had acquired a spacious building known as "Meenakshi Vilas" with vacant site of over 19 acres and that "as for playgrounds, vacant site of about 40 acres adjoining the present area already purchased is available, and I am negotiating for the purchase of the same".

2. The University Commission, with Sri S. Govindarajulu Naidu as Chairman, inspected the arrangements made on the 29th March 1949 and reported that "the building is picturesquely situated opposite to a temple tank and has grounds of about 12 acres. The management hopes to obtain land on either side through land acquisition proceedings." Incidentally Mr. Govindarajulu stated: "A good first grade college should have about 100 acres to provide a campus in which would be located not only the college buildings and hostels but also quarters for the staff and adequate playgrounds." Provisional affiliation was granted on the basis of the report, it being understood:

- (i) that the management would see that the recommendations of the Commission in regard to accommodation, playgrounds, etc., will be given effect to;
- (ii) that the question of permanent affiliation will be considered when the permanent buildings and hostels have been completed and inspected, and on the fulfilment of other conditions.

3. When reporting on the action taken to fulfil the conditions of affiliation, the Correspondent wrote in his letter dated 12th January 1950 that "as the University is aware, we have moved the Government to acquire 50 acres of land adjacent to the college compound. This is under correspondence, as soon as this land is acquired and handed over the management, the full complement of playgrounds will be provided."

4. In an application for further affiliation in October 1949 in Intermediate and B.A. (Mathematics), the Secretary stated "that the present arrangements are essentially temporary in character and intended to last not more than 3 to 4

44. Copy of letter; salutation not available.

years. As the syndicate is aware the present buildings are situated in a site of over 10 acres. The management has already moved the Government to acquire and transfer to the college a piece of land measuring 50 acres and adjoining the present site. When this is done the Management will be in a position to plan the lay-out of all the building construction." It was assumed and therefore that an area of 50 acres will be acquired for necessary purposes and the opinion of Mr. Govindarajulu that a good college would require 100 acres for playgrounds, staff quarters, etc., had not been suggested as a condition as that was not a condition for all other colleges.

5. The Principal of the college wrote to the University on August 2, 1951, suggesting that "the management will be very thankful if the University would be so kind as to use its good offices with Government to see that the acquisition of lands is pushed through as quickly as possible. I may state that a considerable portion of the land has not been built upon and under the acquisition Act, there is nothing to prevent Government from handing this site over to the College management immediately." The Vice-Chancellor addressed the Secretary to Government in his letter of 8th September 1951 to expedite the acquisition and commending the case, on which Government would appear to have issued a notification. The Secretary to Government of Madras, Education Department, in his letter dated 3.10.51, wrote to the Vice-Chancellor as follows:

"With reference to your letter cited above, I am to state that the notification under section 4(1) of the Land Acquisition Act in respect of the lands proposed to be acquired for the extension of the Thiagarajar College, Madurai, were ordered to be published in the Fort St. George Gazette. The question whether the emergency provisions of the Land Acquisition Act should be invoked for the purchase so as to enable the management to take possession of the lands very urgently is under consideration."

The acquisition however does not seem to have materialised in the manner expected.

6. On an application for additional affiliation in B.Com. in October 1953, the Syndicate resolved that consideration be deferred pending full report regarding construction of permanent buildings and present arrangement for the conduct of all the classes and assignment of rooms for the proposed Commerce classes. In reply, the Correspondent stated: "We have not been able to acquire any land either by private negotiations or through land acquisition proceedings. Now the Government have asked us to let them know if we will be satisfied with 27 acres of land. In this connection, we wish to invite your kind attention to the University Inspection Commission's report sent to us along with your letter A.2775 dated 30-5-49 saying that we should have at least 100 acres. In view of this specific mention of the extent of land for the college, we are unable to

accept the 27 acres of land that the Government are offering." The letter continues: "Opposite to the College campus on the other side of the tank, we have purchased a building with a compound of nearly 3 acres. We are again meeting the Collector of Madurai for a further discussion and let you know soon about the decision we arrive at as a result of the discussion with the Collector." The affiliation for B.Com was deferred that year. It may be noted that in October 1953 it was stated that "the management will provide all necessary facilities on getting at least the undisputed portion of the area under acquisition." No report about the discussion with the Collector was received. But in letter of April 12, 1954, the Correspondent reported that semi-permanent buildings are costly and therefore "the management have decided to take up immediately the construction of a new and permanent building of the same dimensions as the new arts block completed this year. The plans for this new building are being prepared and I shall send them to you for approval very soon."

7. It would be seen from the correspondence that the management was given the impression that 50 to 60 acres would be necessary including the area already under their possession. The question of wanting 100 acres was never raised with the management as already stated above. There is nothing on record to show that a suggestion was made that if the land applied for is not available, the college could shift somewhere else. But an oral statement to this effect was made when I visited the college some years ago by Mr. Karumuttu Thiagaraja Chettiar. I agree that it is not a practical proposition to shift the college anywhere else now, as the management has spent a large amount of money in erecting new buildings as well as in remodeling the bungalow that it had acquired.

A.L. Mudaliar
Vice-Chancellor

39. S.R. Das to Nehru⁴⁵

[Refer to item 182]

18th March 1960

As suggested by you in your letter No. 66-PMO/60 dated January 29, 1960, I wrote to Deshmukh asking for help from the UGC for strengthening our Department of English Studies. I am enclosing herewith for your information

45. Copy of letter; salutation and signature not available.

copies of my letter to Deshmukh and his reply thereto which will speak for themselves.

In his letter No. F.22-92/55H dated January 6/8 1960, Deshmukh said that it had occurred to the Commission that the inclusion of the maintenance of High School in the definition of a University might not be strictly legal and that they wished to have the position re-examined.

So far as our Visva-Bharati Act is concerned, I am quite clear, as I said in my Convocation Speech and in some of my letters to you, that our Patha-Bhavana is an integral part of Visva-Bharati, which has been declared to be an Institution of national importance. I was happy to note that in your letter written from Bangalore on January 14, 1960, you said that the Patha-Bhavana had to continue as a part of Visva-Bharati.

The members of the UGC who had recently come to Santiniketan also referred me to the UGC Act and contended that the Patha-Bhavana being a mere school department was not within the meaning of the University Grants Commission Act. I pointed out to the members of the Committee that there was nothing in the definition of the terms "University" in their Act which necessarily excluded a School Department if it was an integral part of the University. Supposing a University providing for instructions for the degree of Bachelor or Master of Education maintains a school where the teachers have their practical training of teaching, that school is certainly an integral part of the University for imparting higher education in teaching and the inclusion of the maintenance of such a school cannot be illegal under the University Grants Commission Act. Likewise our Patha-Bhavana, may be for a different reason, has always been recognised as an integral part of Visva-Bharati which is admittedly a "University" within the meaning of that Act and on a parity of reasoning the inclusion of the maintenance of our Patha-Bhavana cannot offend that Act.

Deshmukh appears to have now made up his mind that our Patha-Bhavana cannot be financed by his Commission. His letter shows that he has shifted himself to a slightly different position. He now relies on entry No. 66 in List I of the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution in support of his conclusion. His present contention is that under that entry Parliament may only make a law with respect to "coordinating and determining the standards of Institutions for higher education or research", and therefore the UGC Act must be read as limited in its operation to "Institutions for higher education or research" and cannot be concerned with or extended to anything else. I have, of course, finished with the Law, and I cannot presume to enter upon any argument with Deshmukh. Further I am at a disadvantage in that I have not got with me a copy of the Constitution for ready reference. But I have some vague recollection

of several important principles for interpretation of statutes. One of them is that the entries in the legislative lists must be given a liberal interpretation. The second principle is that an Act should be construed according to the plain, grammatical meaning of the words used therein and having arrived at the correct interpretation one has, then, to consider whether the Act so construed comes within any one or more of the legislative heads. It may be pointed out that it is an entirely wrong approach to the proper interpretation of an Act to start with the assumption that it has been made in exercise of the legislative powers vested in the legislature by and under one particular entry only and no other. The proper approach is first to find out the meaning of the Act as it stands and then to see whether it can be supported by any one or more of the legislative entries. As far as I recollect there are provisions in the body of the Constitution as well as in an entry in List I itself which give the residuary power of legislation to Parliament. Assuming but without conceding that the provisions of the UGC Act go beyond entry 66, one has to see whether those provisions can be supported by the residuary clause. If a composite Institution imparting higher as well as lower education is regarded as not within entry 66 in List I of the Seventh Schedule, than on a partly of reasoning such a composite Institution cannot come within the relevant entry giving legislative power to the State Legislature with respect to secondary or higher education. If such a situation, why cannot such a composite Institution be said to be subject to the residuary legislative power of Parliament. Further a University which imparts higher education does not cease to be a University merely because it maintains a school as an integral part of it. As such a University constitutes a composite institution, it is not permissible to break it up into its several component parts and accept one part as a University for higher education and therefore well within the UGC Act and exclude the other part as outside the Act? This is entirely to ignore the composite character and to create a new institution. One part cannot be dissociated from the other, for the two parts taken together make up the institution. The only logical conclusion can be drawn is that the entire composite Institution is either wholly within the Act or wholly outside the Act. There is no scope for breaking it up into bits. However, it is for your Law Officers to advise you in the matter on a proper statement of case for opinion indicating all the foregoing aspects of the matter being sent to them.

Legal questions apart, it seems to me clear that Deshmukh is not agreeable to finance our Patha-Bhavana and he has expressed the view that where he cannot help, the Ministry of Education will help. So far as I am concerned, it does not matter two pence to me from which of your pockets the money comes, as long as I get the money for Patha-Bhavana.

40. Leon Gutterman to Nehru⁴⁶*[Refer to item 279]*

It gives me immense pleasure to inform you that the Board of Editors of *Wisdom Magazine*, America's most highly respected magazine of knowledge, has selected you the recipient of the Wisdom award for your extraordinary qualities of mind, heart and spirit, and for your courageous and distinguished achievements in raising the levels of understanding between the freedom-loving peoples of the world, and for strengthening the bonds of friendship between India and the United States. Previous recipients of the Wisdom award have been Albert Einstein, Albert Schweitzer, Winston Churchill, Eleanor Roosevelt, Pope Pius XII, and Dr. Jonas Salk, among others. Because of America's tremendous interest in India, and in tribute to you and the tenth anniversary of India's independence, the next issue of *Wisdom* magazine will be entirely devoted to you, your people, your country, and to the wisdom of India. Your portrait will grace the front and back covers of the magazine and the contents will be an inspiring American salute to the high ideals and lofty aspirations to which you have dedicated your life. We have spent many months researching and collecting text and pictures on India, ancient and modern, and we would be most grateful if you would advise your Ministries of Information, Education, Publications, and Publicity, as well as any other agencies of your Government, to extend to us their friendly cooperation in sending us additional text and pictures on you and all aspects of India, as we are eager to make this special issue the most valuable, most inspiring; and most stimulating in our five year history of educational publishing. We believe this issue will draw great attention to India and will attract many more tourists to your country. Under separate cover, I am sending you recent issues of *Wisdom* so that you may understand the aims and ideals of this eminent American magazine of education. We will be sincerely appreciative for your personal cooperation in this editorial project, and we believe you will be deeply satisfied and delighted with the results.

Accept my congratulations on winning this coveted high honour and on taking your place with the great immortals of wisdom.

Warmest good wishes to you for many more years of achievement and accomplishment.

46. Copy of telegram, Beverly Hills, California, 19 March 1960. File No. 4(3)/60-G, Ministry of Education. Also available in JN Collection.

41. V.V. Giri to Nehru⁴⁷

[Refer to item 90]

March 19, 1960

You were kind enough to ask me by your communication No. 258-PMH/60 dated February 7, 1960 certain details regarding the acquisition of land for the Thiagarajan College at Madurai in the State of Madras, and subsequently when I met you, I incidentally discussed this matter with you.

Shri Thiagarajan is now on a tour of North India and while at Lucknow he met me and I ascertained from him the facts relating to this acquisition.

During the course of a decade beginning with 1949, Shri Thiagarajan has established at Madurai the Arts and Science College, the Preceptors' (Teachers' Training) College with a model High School, and an Engineering College. Apart from these, he has opened a Polytechnic in Salem, and proposes to have also an agricultural college and a music college at Madurai, for which plans are all ready. His ambition in life is to have a university with these institutions as the nucleus.

I am now definite about the extent of land desired by Shri Thiagarajan at Madurai. It is not hundred acres, but only fifty. This land is in three tiers, the last one, covering about fifteen acres, being eroded by the river and unfit for building purposes. This land is situated not in the middle of Madurai City, but in its eastern outskirts and is lying vacant. It may therefore be realised that the extent of the land desired may not be too much if we take into consideration the various hostels, playgrounds, staff quarters etc. that will be necessary for the development of these institutions.

In 1952, according to Shri Thiagarajan, the Government of Madras agreed to the acquisition of this whole land of about 50 acres, over-ruling all objections of vested interests. But in 1953, 27 acres of this land were offered by Rajaji's Government. Shri Thiagarajan informed the Government that 27 acres would not be enough. A protracted correspondence went on regarding the acquisition and the Government of Madras decided on 23rd January 1959 to withdraw all proceedings in respect of the acquisition of land for the Thiagarajar College, Madurai.

Then Shri Thiagarajan filed a writ petition in the High Court contending that this land of about 50 acres was ordered to be acquired by Government as early as 1952 and that they could not go back on their own directions. The High Court summoned the papers relating to the valuation of the land by the

47. Copy of letter; salutation and signature not available.

Land Acquisition Officer. The Government of Madras submitted to the High Court that the records were missing. The High Court gave time to Government to reconstruct the file, but they informed the High Court that it was not possible for them to do so.

Under these circumstances, I feel that the matter should not be allowed to be dragged on in courts, and some suggestion may be made to both the parties to come to an understanding. I would go to the extent of suggesting that the Advocate-General who is appearing for Government, and Shri Nambiar, a well-known and respected Advocate of the High Court appearing for Shri Thiagarajan, may meet together and suggest a possible line of compromise to the parties. Or, the whole correspondence may be placed before the Attorney-General for such advice as he may tender.

I am anxious about this matter, because there are very few people now in the country who are well-to-do, and what is more, very few who would like to help the development of educational institutions at considerable cost.

Mrs. Thiagarajan, who is educated and high cultured, is directly looking after the administration of the Preceptors' (Teachers Training) College as its correspondent, and she applied for immediate possession of seven acres of land adjoining the Preceptors' College in the same area, as otherwise the completion of the existing buildings will not be accomplished. But even this was not granted.

Shri and Shrimati Thiagarajan will be in Delhi (staying at Claridges Hotel) from the 22nd to the 24th of this month, and if you direct them to meet you to explain further any of the matter, they will be grateful.

42. Chou En-lai to Nehru⁴⁸

[Refer to item 207]

Peking 19 March 1960

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

The Indian Ambassador to China, Mr. Parthasarathy, forwarded your letter on 5th March. You suggested that the time for my visit to Delhi might be about 20th April. This time is suitable to me and I entirely agree to it. If it suits your convenience and that of the Government of India, I am prepared to visit Delhi for seven days, from April 19th to 25th.

48. Letter. *White Paper IV*, p. 6. Also available in JN Collection.

I am eagerly looking forward to meeting you again and visiting your great country.

With cordial regards,

(Signed) CHOU EN-LAI

Premier of the State
Council of the People's Republic
of China

43 (a). Y.K. Puri to M.J. Desai⁴⁹

[Refer to item 225]

In 1950 Burma approached us for allotment of a seat for one of the Armed Forces officers in the Staff College at Wellington. The Defence Ministry were initially opposed to taking in officers from non-Commonwealth countries, mainly because of lack vacancies and the fear that similar demands would come from other countries. Later on, a request was also received from Thailand and other requests from Indonesia, Afghanistan, etc. were anticipated. The matter was placed before the Prime Minister in 1953 and his Minute of 24.3.1953 at Slip 'O' laid down:-

- (i) Each country should be treated on its merit and there was no need for a division between Commonwealth and non-Commonwealth countries in this context;
- (ii) Priority should be given certain countries, that is, first Burma, next Indonesia and next Afghanistan;
- (iii) No encouragement need be given to countries like Iran and Thailand whose political outlook and policy were entirely opposed to ours.

2. A request has now been received from the Thai Government for a seat at the next course of the Staff College for an officer of the Royal Thai Army. There seems to be no objection now on the ground of lack of vacancies and, apparently, the Thai officer can be accommodated if so decided. In view of PM's decision in 1953 not to encourage countries like Thailand, the matter has to be submitted to PM for his decision.

3. Although Thailand is a member of the SEATO, that need not necessarily be a bar because Australia, also a member of the SEATO, is allowed to send officers to the Staff College at Wellington on a reciprocal basis. On the whole,

49. Note, 19 March 1960. File No. 1402(13)-SD/60, MEA.

it seems that in view of the change in conditions since 1953, the matter may be reviewed and we may agree to allot one vacancy at the next course to Thailand, without any commitment for the future.

43 (b). M.J. Desai to Nehru⁵⁰

[Refer to item 225]

Please see JS's summary placed below.

2. The Thais are a weak and easy-going people. Like Denmark in Europe, they joined a military alliance not because they want to misuse a military alliance to settle their own scores with their neighbours but because they are afraid of a more powerful neighbour. They are essentially a peace-loving people now though, like the Danes, they were aggressive in the past.

3. The Thais are staunch Buddhists and Thai leaders, apart from their political views, have always been anxious to cultivate relations with India.

4. Now that the Thais have formally requested us for one vacancy at the Staff College at Wellington, we might agree to allot one vacancy. There is no political risk involved as a more powerful member of the SEATO—Australia—already sends its officers to the Staff College. On the other hand, the presence of a Thai officer at the Staff College would, to some extent, help in giving to the Thai military personnel a better idea of the economic and military organization of India.

44. Mahavir Tyagi to Nehru⁵¹

[Refer to item 89]

रैन बसेरा देहरादून

(टेली : 123)

16 डॉ. राजेन्द्र प्रसाद रोड

नई दिल्ली। (टेली : 4656)

प्रिय जवाहर लाल जी,

देशमुख ने जो भ्रष्टाचार की छानबीन की माँग की है, इसमें तनिक भी संदेह नहीं कि वह कतई बे सिर पैर के हैं। और कोई भी जिम्मेदार सरकार ऐसी अंधेर गर्दी का कार्य नहीं कर सकती कि जिसमें हर शरीफ़ आदमी की टोपी उछालने की खुली छूट हो जाए। फिर भी आप देखते हैं कि

50. Note, 21 March 1960. File No. 1402(13)-SD/60, MEA.

51. Letter, undated c. 20 March 1960. Mahavir Tyagi Papers, NMML.

देश की सारी जनता बौखला उठी है वो कि भ्रष्टाचार की रोकथाम की जाए। आज किसी भी कांग्रेसवाले की हिम्मत नहीं है कि वो जनता को संतुष्ट कर सके कि हमारी सरकारें भ्रष्टाचार को रोकने का कुछ प्रयत्न कर रही हैं। कारण यह है कि महात्मा गांधी के मरने के बाद से हम सब आत्महीन होकर अपने साथियों की बेईमानी, बदचलनी और तरह-तरह की बुराईयों को रोकने की बजाय उन पर परदा डालने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं।

लोगों का यह आरोप कतई ठीक है कि जितना भ्रष्टाचार आज दिन हमारे देश में फैला हुआ है उतना न कभी मुगलों के राज्य में था और न अंग्रेजों के। और बावजूद अपनी जानकारी के हाथ पर हाथ धरे निकम्मे बने बैठे हैं। विरोधी आक्रमण कर रहे हैं और हम उनका मुंह ताक रहे हैं।

यदि पार्टी को फिर से जिन्दा रखना है तो purging का रिवाज डाल दीजिए और ऐसे व्यक्तियों को कि जिनकी प्रतिष्ठा जनता की निगाह में गिर चुकी है, उन्हें जिम्मेदारी के पदों से स्वयं हट जाना चाहिए या आप उनको हटा दें, भले ही वो आपके या मेरे कितने भी पुराने मित्र या साथी क्यों न हों।

आपको याद होगा कि एक बार आप और मौलाना आज़ाद आदि ने यू.पी. असेम्बली के लिये करीब पचास व्यक्तियों को चुनाव के टिकट देने से मना कर दिया था उनकी शिकायतें बहुत तरह की थीं। फिर इधर-उधर के जोर पड़ने पर सबको टिकट दे दिए थे। आपकी मुखव्वत और शराफत ही ने सारा काम बिगाड़ा है यदि आप अपनी निजी राय पर डटे रहते तो ये दशा न होती। अब भी यदि आप हिम्मत से काम लें तो हालत सुधर सकती है। वैसे तो अपनी पार्टी में कई व्यक्ति ऐसे हैं कि जिनकी नियत में फर्क आ चुका है पर यदि सबके खिलाफ सबूत नहीं मिलता तो जिनका सबूत लिखित मिलता हो उन पर तो कड़ी कार्यवाही कर ही देनी चाहिए। मैं दे सकता हूँ एक बिल्कुल सच्चा केस पर वो मेरे एक निजी मित्र का है यदि आप उन्हीं को कुर्बान कर दें तो जनता को कुछ संतोष हो सकता है और उससे भी हमारा स्तर कुछ ऊंचा उठ सकता है। पर चूँकि मैं पीठ पीछे शिकायतें करने का आदी नहीं हूँ इसलिए उनसे मेरा जिक्र करने से पहले आप मुझे सूचना दे दें ताकि आपके कहने से पहले मैं स्वयं उनको पत्र लिखकर चुनौती दे सकूँ। आशा है आप बिना मेरी अनुमति लिए किसी को भी मेरा नाम प्रकट न करेंगे।

इस मामले के पूरे हाल जानने के लिए आप I. Tax Commissioner, Delhi के Salary Circle से श्री बाबू सत्य नारायण सिन्हा की I. Tax File मंगा लीजिए। ये हज़रत कई वर्षों से वेतन के अलावा अपनी आमदनी केवल एक हज़ार रुपए वार्षिक दिखाते आ रहे थे कि I. Tax वालों को कुछ कम्पनियों के हिसाबों से पता चल गया कि इनकी आमदनी एक हज़ार से कहीं अधिक है। बस Sec. 34, I.T. Act के अनुसार Tax की चोरी में इनका assessment re-open कर दिया गया। अपनी इज़्जत बनाने और फ़ज़ीते से बचने के लिए इन्होंने स्वीकार कर लिया कि वेतन के अलावा इनकी आमदनी तीस या बत्तीस हज़ार वार्षिक के लगभग है। I. Tax वालों ने बिना इस बात की छानबीन किए कि ये पूंजी (करीब छः या सात लाख थी) कब और कहाँ से प्राप्त की, मामले को वहीं दबा दिया। कोई लिखित बयान भी इस सिलसिले में नहीं लिया गया।

सारे I. Tax के officer और मिनिस्ट्री के लोग भी इसकी चर्चा कर रहे हैं। अब आप ही

बताइए कि जब हमारे पार्टी के Chief Whip का ये हाल है तो सरकारी अफसरों पर हमारा ख़ाक असर पड़ेगा। और किस मुंह से I. Tax वाले दूसरों की चोरी पकड़ेंगे कि जब Centre के मिनिस्टर ऐसा करेंगे। ये मत समझ लेना कि सरकारी कर्मचारियों से हमारी कोई भी बात छिपी है। हमारी बदनामी की चर्चा पहले सरकारी कर्मचारियों से आरम्भ होती है।

भ्रष्टाचारी भ्रष्टाचार को दूर नहीं कर सकते। आजकल सेक्रेटेरियट मिनिस्टरों की कहानियों से गुंज रहा है। मोटरों के ड्राइवर और डाक बंगलों के चौकीदार तक हमारे चरित्र की चर्चा करते हुए आपस में हंसते हैं। कृपया हमारी इज्जत बचाने के लिए कुछ करो वर्ना जिन्हें टिकट का लालच नहीं है और जो अपने चरित्र पर दाग लगवाना नहीं चाहते वे पार्टी छोड़ कर भाग जाएंगे और अगले चुनाव में आपको ईमानदार आदमी मिलने कठिन हो जाएंगे।

जीप Scandal का समझौता करने से आप अपने को घृणा की भट्टी में झोंकना चाहते हो तो झोंक दो। ये लोग राहू की तरह आपको लग गए हैं, कब तक इन लोगों को अपने कंधों पर उठाओगे? ये मत समझ लेना कि लोक सभा को पता नहीं है इस सिलसिले में आपके वकील की राय क्या है और मेनन अपनी शहादत देने से क्यों हिचक रहे हैं। आपको अधिकार है कि आप अपना हाथ इस गंदगी में भी सान लो, पर इसका बुरा नतीजा होगा। आगे आप जाने आपका काम जाने। मैंने ये पत्र लिख कर अपना जी हल्का कर लिया।

आपका
(महावीर त्यागी)

नोट : - आपको याद होगा कि छोटे से मामले पर शन्मुखम चेट्टी का इस्तीफा मांगने से हमारी पार्टी का कितना गौरव बढ़ा था।

[Translation begins:

Raein Basera, Dehra Dun
(Tel: 123)

16, Dr Rajendra Prasad Road,
New Delhi (Tel: 4656)

Dear Jawaharlalji,

This demand of Deshmukh for inquiring into corruption charges, is undoubtedly absurd, and no responsible government can indulge in taking this kind of senseless step where everybody gets the right of mud-slinging on any decent man. Still, you will find that the people of our country have become restless that corruption should be controlled. No Congress leader has the courage to satisfy the public that our governments are trying to control the corruption. The reason being that after Mahatma Gandhi's passing away we all have become soulless, and have been trying to cover up the dishonesty, wrong-doings and

different kinds of harmful activities instead of trying to stop them.

This allegation of public is correct that the extent of corruption that is witnessed now in our country, was found neither during the Mughal rule nor under the British. And in spite of this knowledge we are sitting idle, doing nothing about it. Our opponents are attacking us and we are just totally inactive.

If we want to keep the party alive, a system of purging has to be introduced, and those, who have lost face in public, should themselves leave the positions of responsibility, or you should remove them even if they are our old friends or colleagues—yours or mine.

You will remember that once you and Maulana Azad and others had refused to give tickets for elections to about fifty persons because there were all kinds of complaints against them. But later under all kinds of pressures they all got the tickets. Your qualities of decency and consideration for others have actually been the spoilers. If you had stuck to your position, your personal opinion, things would not have been this bad. Even now if you display courage things can improve. Although, there are many people in our party who have been corrupted but if evidence cannot be found against all of them, at least against whom written evidence is available, strict action should be taken against them. I can give one true case but it is about my personal friend. If you sacrifice him the public may be slightly satisfied and it will raise our standard also. But I do not like to complain behind somebody's back therefore please inform me before talking to him so that I can write to him challenging on the issue. I hope you will not disclose my name without my consent.

To get full details of this case, you please get the Income Tax file of Babu Satya Narayan Sinha from the Income Tax Commissioner, Salary Circle, Delhi. This gentleman has been showing an additional income of one thousand rupees annually besides his salary for the last so many years. From the accounts of some companies the Income Tax people came to know that his income is much more than one thousand. So, his assessment was reopened under Section 34 of the I. T. Act for tax evasion. To save his prestige and to avoid trouble, he accepted that his additional income, besides salary, is about thirty to thirty-two thousand annually. The Income Tax people, without probing into the matter that where this amount (almost six to seven lakh) came from, suppressed it. No written statement was taken about it.

All the people, officers in the Income Tax Department and in the Ministry, are talking about it. Now, what do you have to say about it—if the Chief Whip of our party is doing this, what impact we can have on the government officers. And how will the Income Tax people point out such tax evasions when Central Ministers are indulging in this. Please do not think that the government servants do not know these things. The talk of our misdeeds starts with the government

servants.

The corrupt cannot remove the corruption. Nowadays, the Secretariat is resonating with the stories of Ministers. Even the motor drivers and the guards of the dak bungalows/rest houses are discussing our character and laugh among themselves. Please do something to save our reputation otherwise those, who are not after an election ticket and who do not want a stain on their character, will leave the Party and you will find it difficult to find honest men in the next elections.

If you want to embrace hate by this settlement in jeep scandal, then do it. The people are out to eclipse you like Rahu, for how long will you carry them as passengers? Do not think that the Lok Sabha is not aware of what the opinion of your lawyers is on this matter and why Menon is hesitating in sacrificing himself. You have every right to get involved in this mess but its results will be bad. Now, you yourself can decide. I have unburdened myself by writing this letter.

Yours,
Mahavir Tyagi

Note—You will remember how the prestige of the party had gone up when Shanmukham Chetty resigned on a small issue.

Translation ends]

45. K.R. Kripalani to Nehru⁵²

[Refer to item 180]

I was in Ahmedabad yesterday for a meeting of the Sahitya Akademi's Advisory Board for Gujarati. I took the opportunity of visiting the Moti-Shahi-Bagh, the Royal Moghul residence built by Prince Khurram in 1622 during the reign of his father Emperor Jehangir. In 1878 the palace was occupied by the then District Judge, Satyendranath Tagore, elder brother of Rabindranath Tagore. The young Rabindranath had stayed there with his brother and it was there that he conceived his famous story, "Hungry Stones" in which something of the old Moghul atmosphere comes back to life. He has described this house and his experiences therein in his *My Reminiscences*.

52. Note, 21 March 1960. File No. 40(196)/60-61-PMS.

After the passing of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 1904, this house was declared a Protected Monument by the Government of India. In 1928 its care was handed over to the then Provincial Government. The State Government is at present using it as the Commissioner's residence and I was told that with the inauguration of the separate State for Gujarat it would be converted into the Governor's residence. I am afraid this might necessitate considerable repairs and structural changes which are likely to alter the original character of this protected monument. In view of the historical importance of this building which has been further enhanced on account of its association with the poet Tagore, I would request the President to consider the desirability of persuading the State Government to hand over this monument for proper care and preservation to the Central Department of Archaeology.

I would also request him to consider the desirability of affording similar protection under the Preservation of Ancient Monuments Act to the ancestral residence of Tagore Family at Jorasanko, Calcutta. Fortunately the Government of Bengal are buying up the entire property in order to utilise it as a suitable memorial to Tagore in the form of a specialised University or Institute. Although the project of a suitable Tagore Memorial is to be warmly welcomed, it would be a pity if its utilitarian requirements entailed heavy structural changes in the old building. As it is, considerable and irreparable damage was done when the old and beautiful building at its side, which used to be the baithak-khana or reception halls of Prince Dwarkanath Tagore and of the Maharshi (poet's father) and which was for long the residence of the artist-brothers, Abanindranath Tagore and Gaganendranath Tagore and for half a century a vital centre of cultural renaissance, was ruthlessly razed to the ground and a nondescript structure erected in its place in the name of Rabindra Bharati. I would, therefore, respectfully submit for the President's consideration that whatever use is made of this ancestral property, it should be preserved intact as a historical comment under the supervision of the Central Department of Archaeology.

46. G.B. Pant to Nehru⁵³

[Refer to item 109]

MINISTER FOR HOME AFFAIRS

New Delhi,

March 21, 1960

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I have received your letter of March 19, and seen Frank Anthony's letter to you. I have discussed this matter with him on more than one occasion. The period of ten years during which the special facilities were to be made available was laid down in the Constitution on the basis of the agreement with the spokesmen of the Anglo-Indian Community. For the continuance of the special facilities to the Anglo-Indian community, an amendment to the Constitution would be required. I believe, and I told him so, that the proposal for an extension of the constitutional provision would not be favourably received by the Congress Party and other parties in Parliament. When recently the provisions of the Constitution relating to the representation of the Anglo-Indian community in the House of the People and the State Legislatures were extended, there was considerable opposition in Parliament, and the proposal got through mainly because it was bound up with the extension of the reservations for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The special facilities for the Scheduled Castes, etc. have been provided for in the Constitution without any time-limit, but for the Anglo-Indian community, a definite time-limit of ten years was laid down, for the continuance of these special facilities to the Anglo-Indian community, a constitutional amendment Bill for this purpose alone would have to be introduced. It might perhaps be considerable to avoid the embarrassment that opposition to this proposal will create. I have told Anthony that short of amendment of the Constitution, I would like to render whatever help I would to the Community. In fact I spoke to Jagjivan Ram and Shrimali. Jagjivan Ram assured me, and I informed Anthony accordingly, that he would be prepared to take in the Railway Service as many qualified Anglo-Indians as offered themselves for service. I understand that of late, educated Anglo-Indians have not been going in for Railway Service in as large a number as before because they find more remunerative employment in the private industries. Shrimali is also willing to do whatever he can to help the Anglo-Indian schools. Last evening I met the Chief Ministers of the States at an informal meeting at my place and discussed the subject with them. Their opinion was that no amendment to the Constitution

53. Letter. File No. 33(56)/60-64-PMS.

should be made to extend the existing provision regarding special facilities but I appealed to them that the State Governments should continue to give the grants to Anglo-Indian schools, keeping in view the terms of the provisions in the Constitution even though the particular Articles had lapsed. They seemed to agree.

I am returning herewith Anthony's letter to you.

Yours affectionately,
G.B. Pant

47. Sham Nath to Nehru⁵⁴

[Refer to item 69]

March 21, 1960

Respected Pandit Ji,

I understand that a party of about 125 officials and non-officials is shortly proceeding to U.S.A. to take part in the Inaugural Flight of Jet Boeing from U.S.A. to India sometime next month.

I wonder if it would be possible for you to please include 3 or 4 councillors of the Delhi Municipal Corporation in this party.

Should this be feasible, these councillors would have an opportunity to study Local Government Institutions in U.S.A. during the course of their stay, which I am told, will last for about a fortnight.

I feel that the inclusion of 3 or 4 councillors in a party of 125 persons will not be out of place.

I shall be grateful if this request is favourably considered by you.

With respects,

Yours faithfully,
Sham Nath

54. Letter. File No. 27/63/60-70-PMS.

48. S. Chellaswamy to Nehru⁵⁵

[Refer to item 108]

Chandrabagh Avenue,
Edward Elliots Road,
Madras- 4
22nd March, 1960

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

The statement issued by the Deputy Minister for Railways which has been given wide publicity in the Press here, has provoked me to write this letter to you.

I do not question his right for a moment to indulge in any statement he pleases but I am certainly concerned with the repercussion it is likely to have. In fact, the D.M.K. not to speak of the D.K. and the Nam Tamil movement—have already made political capital out of the irresponsible behavior of the Deputy Minister in the two temples. He is certainly at liberty to suggest even a reform if he felt inclined that way but the way he has behaved in the Tiruchendur temple in threatening the priests that he would throw back the prasadam at them has really shocked one and all. The incident might create communal bitterness and is likely to be given the twist by the reactionary parties. At a time when the communal rancour and bitterness is disappearing from the body politic, responsible Minister like him should not have indulged in such an unwholesome behavior. I fail to understand how the Minister could invoke constitutional provision in this regard. I do not profess to be an authority on Constitutional Law but with my experience at the Bar I could safely state that there is no basis for such a contention.

In fact, there is no discrimination whatsoever and the problem the Deputy Minister talks about is imaginary and not real. The public reacted very strongly against his conduct and the Madras Minister's statement went a long way towards softening it. And after all, if there is any discriminatory practice it is for people like me hailing from that area and connected with the affairs of the temple to protest. The fact of the matter is there is nothing to protest.

It is high time that the Union Deputy Minister stops this childish controversy. I refrained from writing to you in the first instance hoping that sense will dawn on the Deputy Minister and that he would sincerely repent before the Gods.

55. Letter. From *Letters from Late Prime Minister Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru & other Statesmen on National Issues, Selection of Letters To and From Mr. S. Chellaswamy* (Madras, 1965), p. 18.

Now that he has gone too far I felt it my duty to place before you my frank views in the matter.

Yours sincerely,
S. Chellaswamy

49. Manubehn Gandhi to Nehru⁵⁶

[Refer to item 280]

मनुबहेन गांधी

महुवा (सौराष्ट्र)

बम्बई 22 [23] मार्च 1960⁵⁷

पूज्य चाचाजी की सेवा में
सादर प्रणाम।

अपनी अेक ही बात के लिए आपको जरूर कंटाला आता होगा ही, और मुझे खुद को काफी दुख भी होता है। मगर बहुत निरुपाय होने से ही आपको लिखना पड़ता है।

यहाँ आज पाँच-पाँच साल से मैंने अपने लिए अेक छोटा सा मकान की माँग की है, जिसके बदले में मैं भारत सरकार को अपनी सेवा भी दे रही हूँ। मगर नतिजा यह है कि औरों को मकान मिल भी गया है, मैंने श्री रसिक भाई परीख को बहुत दफे कहा, और लिखा भी। उनका जवाब आया है कि वे अब अहमदाबाद जा रहे हैं उनको भी उनके बच्चों की यहाँ पढ़ाई हो रही है अिसलिये अपने लिए मकान की जरूरत है। कल सुना कि उनको तो मकान मिल गया, अिसी तरह और प्रधान जो यहाँ से जा रहे हैं उनको भी चाहिए। मुझे आशा है उन सब को मिल ही जाएगा। यह आपकी जानकारी के लिए मैं लिखती हूँ। आपने श्री चौहाण साहब को भी लिखा ही था यह भी मैं जानती हूँ। मगर आज पाँच साल होने के बाद भी मैं अितनी तकलिफ से यहाँ रह रही हूँ।

अब आपसे प्रार्थना है कि यहां से गुजराती प्रधान तो अहमदाबाद जायेंगे, उनमें से योग्य किराये पर अगर सरकार मुझे छोटासा मकान दिलवा सके तो अब पूज्य बापु के जो साहित्य अपनी पास है, उनका प्रचार देश व्यापी आसानी से कर सकुंगी। भारत सरकार से न मैं किराया का पैसा चाहती हूँ न और कोई मुझे जरूरत है, सिर्फ योग्य किराए पर सरकार अेक मकान की सुभीता करवा सके तो अब मैं अपनी प्रवृत्ति आसानी से कर सकती हूँ।

56. Letter. U.N. Dhebar Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

Original spelling retained, for example, उनको instead of उनको; सुभीता instead of सुविधा.

57. The typescript may be read either way.

एक मकान के बारे में सुना है जिसमें श्री रतुभाई अदाणी रहते हैं (दारु बंदी और ग्राम अुद्योग प्रधान) मनोरंजन उस मकान का नाम है वह पाकिस्तानी मिल्कत है (सरकारी)। ऐसा कोई छोटा सा मकान सरकार दिलवा दे तो मैं अपनी प्रवृत्ति निश्चित मन से कर सकुंगी।

आपको अितनी भारी प्रवृत्ति में अपना अंगत कार्य के लिए कष्ट देना बड़ा भारी गुना और पाप ही मैं समझती हूँ। मगर जिस तरह पू. बापु ने मेरा ख्याल और चिंता रखी थी उसी तरह आप रख रहे हैं इसलिये अब अितनी मेरी प्रार्थना है।

कल मैं यहाँ से महुवा जा रही हूँ। यहाँ पर भी बहुत अछा ही कार्यक्रम रहा।

यही आपकी पुत्री

मनु के सादर प्रणाम स्वीकार करें।

[Translation begins:

Manubehn Gandhi
Mahua (Saurashtra)
Bombay 22/23-3-60⁵⁸

Respected Uncle,
Greetings,

You must be weary of my repeated request for a house and I also feel unhappy about it. But I am forced to write to you as I have no other option.

For the last five years, I have been asking for a small house here, in lieu of which I have also been providing my services to the Government of India. But the result is that others have got houses not me. I have spoken to Shri Rasikbhai Parikh many times and written also. He has now replied that he is going to Ahmedabad but he also needs a house here as his children are studying here. I heard yesterday that he has got one. Similarly, other heads who are going from here will also need houses. I hope they all will get it. I am writing to you to bring all this to your knowledge. I also know that you had written to Chavan Saheb but now five years later I am still living in difficult conditions.

My request to you is that the Gujarati committee chiefs will go from here to Ahmedabad, if the government gives me a small house out of these, I can propagate, whatever Bapuji's literature we have, in the whole country conveniently. I do not want to get rent from the Government of India neither do I need anything else, only if the Government can make available a house on suitable rent, I can do my work satisfactorily.

58. See fn 58 in this section.

I have heard about a house where Ratubhai Adani (prohibition and village industries head) lives, its name is Manoranjan. It is Pakistan Government's property. If the Government can give me some such small house, I shall manage alright.

I feel it is a crime and sin to trouble you in the midst of your heavy engagements. But like Bapu was concerned for me and took care of my welfare, you are also concerned, that is why I am making this request.

Tomorrow I am going to Mahua from here. Here also the programme went off very well.

Please accept as from your daughter,
Manu's respectful regards

Translation ends]

50. K. Ram to Nehru⁵⁹

[Refer to item 117]

P.M. will recollect that some time ago, some Japanese correspondents had complained to us that they were kept out of the Central Hall of Parliament on two very important occasions, i.e., when the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of the USSR addressed Members of Parliament.

2. Under PM's instructions, I wrote to the Secretary, Parliament Secretariat, about this matter and asked him to let us know why these correspondents were kept out of these functions although other foreign correspondents including the American and the British were allowed to be present. The Prime Minister himself wrote to the Minister of Information & Broadcasting about it.

3. From the reply received from the Lok Sabha Secretariat, it however appears that there was no substance whatever in the complaint of these Japanese correspondents and that there had been no discrimination in the matter of admission to the Central Hall of Parliament on these two occasions. Passes were issued to the representatives of five Japanese newspapers and news agencies when President Eisenhower addressed Members of Parliament and to three Japanese correspondents when Mr. Khrushchev addressed them. In fact,

59. Note, 23 March 1960. File No. 43(148)/60-61-PMS.

four of the signatories to the letter of complaint had signed for and taken delivery of the passes.

4. On receipt of the reply from the Lok Sabha Secretariat, I wrote to the Japanese correspondents, who had brought this matter to the Prime Minister's notice and told them that there was no substance whatever in their complaint and in fact, in order to accommodate them, the Lok Sabha Secretariat had to incur the displeasure of several correspondents of Indian newspapers who had to be excluded on both the occasions on account of lack of space in the Central Hall of Parliament. After nearly three weeks I have received another letter from these correspondents asking that they would like to see me in this connection and to explain their stand in regard to the complaint made by them. They have also said that they would appreciate it very much if the Principal Information Office and Shri N.C. Jagadachari, Chief Information and Publicity Branch Officer of the Lok Sabha could also be present at this meeting.

5. Before agreeing to the request of these Japanese correspondents, I thought it would be better for me to consult the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and accordingly I wrote to him day before yesterday forwarding a copy of the letter which I had received from these correspondents. Shri Satya Narayan Sinha rang me up today and said that the admission of press correspondent to the Central Hall of Parliament on such occasions is controlled by the Press Gallery Committee and that it would be better if I asked Shri K.S. Ramachandran of the P.T.I, to be also present at the meeting. In fact, Shri Ramachandran came to see me this afternoon and told me that he had looked into this matter himself and had found that the complaints of these correspondents were highly exaggerated. Actually they had been given more passes than the press correspondents of other countries. However, since they had asked for an interview, I could not very well refuse to meet them. Shri Ramachandran also agreed to come to this meeting along with the Secretary of the Press Gallery Committee. It was decided that we would meet the Japanese Press Correspondents on Saturday, 26th March at 11.00 a.m. in my room in the Ministry of External Affairs.

6. I also informed Shri S.L. Sakdhar, Joint Secretary Lok Sabha Secretariat, about this meeting and requested him to send Shri N.C. Jagadachari, their Chief Information and Publicity Branch Officer, to this meeting with the register showing the issue of the passes to the press correspondents. I was surprised when Shri Shaktidhar told me that Shri Jagadachari could not come to the meeting without the approval of the Speaker of the Lok Sabha. He said that this matter had been dealt with by their Secretariat and the Press Gallery Committee and that if the Japanese Correspondents had anything to say, they should go to them and not to the Prime Minister. Shri Shaktidhar also mentioned

that his Deputy Secretary had written to the Japanese correspondents asking them to see him in this connection but they had refused saying as they had been in correspondence with the Prime Minister's Secretariat, they would like to see me and that they had already written to me asking for an interview.

7. It seems to me that Shri Shakhdar has deliberately taken up this unreasonable attitude and has unnecessarily brought in the Speaker's name into this affair. In fact, Shri Shakhdar mentioned to me that these correspondents had bypassed their Secretariat and should be taught a lesson. They had no business to complain to P.M.

8. Shri Ramachandran of the P.T.I. who is the Chairman of the Press Gallery Committee rang me up a little while ago and said that he had also had a talk with Shri Shakhdar and he was amazed that Shri Shakhdar had taken up this attitude and had not agreed to Shri Jagadachari coming to the meeting.

9. I have no particular desire to meet these correspondents, but as they had requested for an interview, I could not very well refuse to meet them as it would have been discourteous. All that I was trying to do was to be of help in this matter at the instance of the Prime Minister.

10. In view of these developments, I think it would perhaps be best if I wrote to these Japanese correspondents telling them that I have no further information beyond what I have already conveyed to them in my letter and that as the Press Gallery Committee of the Lok Sabha is responsible for issuing passes to the press correspondents on such occasions, it would be better for them to see the Chairman of the Committee.

51. C.D. Deshmukh to Nehru⁶⁰

[Refer to item 91]

23rd March 1960

My dear Prime Minister,

Will you please refer to your personal and confidential letter No. 689-PMH/60 of March 20, 1960?

Before I get into communication with Shri S.R. Das I should like to refer to a few matters which require clarification and set out a few difficulties connected with the adequacy or otherwise of the powers that Shri S.R. Das will have and the procedure he will choose to follow.

60. Letter. C.D. Deshmukh Papers, NMML.

Your letter was that Shri S.R. Das should consider such information as I have in the light of any material that might be given to me and to advise us later of the further steps he considers necessary. You added that this should be done informally and without any publicity at this stage. I accepted this offer but should now like to know a little more about the procedure that Shri S.R. Das will adopt in order to elicit facts even for the purpose of his preliminary enquiry.

You will recall that in my letter of 7th December, 1959, I indicated the nature of the information that I have received under 17 heads. Some of these refer to the Central Government and some to State Governments. Moreover, some refer to what has happened in the past and some to matters which are still current. Again, in regard to some, a Minister or Ministry is involved, not necessarily in corruption but conventional or political improprieties and here again some refer to Central Ministers and some to State Ministers. I think you will agree that it is not possible for me to transmit everything simultaneously to Shri S.R. Das, nor will it be practicable for him to deal with all this miscellaneous material, most of which I have naturally had no means of verifying since the necessary documentary evidence cannot be available to me.

One of these cases, namely, No. 17 is already being dealt with by you separately, and you have stated that since a case arising out of this is in court Shri S.R. Das would not undertake enquiry into it. I shall be writing to you separately in reply to your last letter on this particular subject.

So far as the procedure for transmission of information is concerned I propose to send to Shri S.R. Das case after case in the light of what he is able to advise on each. However, as he has reserved to himself the power to give advice over which there is no appeal. I must reserve to myself the power to stop transmitting information to him according to our agreement if I am dissatisfied with such advice as he gives—I am assuming that I shall be informed what exactly his advice in each case is.

I assume also that Shri S.R. Das and I shall be dealing with these matters only by correspondence and that I shall not have to put in a personal appearance before him as if I was a prosecutor, I shall consider my duty done when I have transmitted to him whatever information has reached me in the form in which it has reached me with an indication of the necessary particulars and the name of the informant.

But even this procedure holds the danger of the enquiry being infructuous if Shri S.R. Das has no greater powers than you have of looking into the matter, that is to say, if he cannot summon witnesses, examine them on oath or call for confidential documents from the Central or State Ministries. Since some of my informants are Government servants I am wondering how Shri S.R. Das will ensure that they will answer any enquiries that he addresses to them or how it

can even be ensured that they will be telling the truth if they are not examined on oath. I should also like an assurance that whatever confidential papers or otherwise which Shri S.R. Das requires for the purpose of his preliminary enquiry will be made available to him on his writing to you for this purpose. Unless these precautions are taken his preliminary enquiry is foredoomed to failure and indeed will even be less fruitful than any enquiry you might make, since, where the name of informer is communicated to you if he is an official you could send for him, whereas Shri S.R. Das would not be able to send for him or to obtain a statement from him, whether on oath or otherwise.

I shall start sending cases of information to Shri S.R. Das on having the above matters clarified from you. I should like to point out that I am proceeding to Japan on the 2nd of April and shall be away for over three weeks, and it may not therefore be possible for me to do much in the way of communicating information to Shri S.R. Das before I leave; but I shall endeavour to send him at least one case before I go.

Yours sincerely,
C.D. Deshmukh

52. S. Radhakrishnan to Nehru⁶¹

[Refer to item 92]

23rd March 1960

I am enclosing a letter from Shri Thiagaraja Chettiar about the land acquisition for his college in Madurai. I have just had a talk with him and his wife. For the Preceptors' College, an additional seven acres and odd seems to be absolutely essential.

In one of the letters which Mrs. Radha Thiagarajan wrote to Shri Subramaniam on the 6th August 1959, she concludes with the following words:

“May I, therefore, beg of the Minister to be pleased to make a generous gesture of Bhudan for education?”

Shri Thiagaraja Chettiar is afraid that they will inflate the prices and begs you to insist that the prices prevailing there at that time should be taken as the basis.

61. Copy of letter; salutation and signature not available.

53. Karummuthu Thiagarajan to Nehru⁶²

[Refer to item 92]

23rd March 1960

I have been troubling you for long about the acquisition of land for my colleges in Madurai. The matter is now pending before the Madras High Court. I have just had a talk with the Vice-President.

I may assure you that it is not my intention to fight this and expose all our misunderstandings and differences in public. My only interest is to get proper accommodation for the present institutions and the future developments which I am contemplating there.

At present I am willing to accept 27 acres but I feel it is essential, if the Preceptors' College is to function satisfactorily, that we should get 7 ½ acres more because the college cannot function without the Model School which must be situated adjacent to the College, the 27 acres are on the western side of the Arts College and cannot be used for the Preceptors' College.

I am greatly concerned about the price which they will fix. It must be based on the valuation of the land at the time when the proceedings were started because the construction of my colleges has added to the price value of surrounding lands. As a matter of fact the price has been fixed by the Special Officer.

I hope that for future expansion of our activities I shall have your goodwill and sympathy and will be enabled to acquire more land for playgrounds hostels etc.

Forgive me for the trouble.

54. Manubhai M. Shah to Nehru⁶³

[Refer to item 158]

Minister of Industry

March 23, 1960

New Delhi

My dear Panditji,

You will be glad to know that as per your orders, the scheme for the recognition and granting of awards for the performance of the different industrial undertakings in the public sector has now been prepared. Our Ministry prepared

62. Copy of letter; salutation and signature not available.

63. Letter. File No. 17(388)/60-64-PMS.

the broad draft of the scheme, which has now been considered and approved by the Committee of Secretaries under the chairmanship of the Cabinet Secretary. I am enclosing a copy of the final scheme for your kind perusal.

Along with a copy of the scheme, I am also enclosing three forms of awards —(1) A Certificate of Honour (flag-A) for all the undertakings which achieve their respective targets of performance in the year; (2) Five special awards in the form of Copper Plates as Certificate of Merit (flag-B) and (3) A Shield to the undertaking whose performance is adjudged the best among all the undertakings (flag-C).

You may kindly see the attached designs which the artists have prepared. After you have kindly gone through the scheme and the designs, I would like to meet you at your convenience so as to receive your final instructions.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Manubhai Shah

55. C.D. Deshmukh to Nehru⁶⁴

[Refer to item 94]

March 24, 1960

Will you please refer to your letter No. 189-PMH/60 of March 17, 1960?

First of all, I shall like you to see the letter I have received from the Vice-Chancellor,⁶⁵ copy of which is enclosed.

You will notice that the affiliation granted was temporary and on the condition, among others, that the College acquired a total area of 50 acres, including the original 10 to 13 acres. It will also be clear that until nearly the end of 1951 the Government of Madras showed every intention of acquiring the required land. There was then no talk of excessive area in the heart of the town and or land being required for industrial purposes.

At this stage, will you kindly look at the map of Madurai city I send herewith (to be returned when done with?) The portion A is the original campus of the College, B being the 27 acres which the Madras Government still say they will be willing to proceed with the acquisition of, C the area they wish to exclude, as industrial area, as well as D, to the south of the road, required for the Preceptor's College, under the same management.

64. Copy of letter; salutation and signature not available.

65. A.L. Mudaliar's letter of 17 March 1960.

I agree that the College is not three miles from the city, but neither is it anywhere near the heart of the city. In fact it is almost on the eastern end of the city municipal limits. From the main city area it was towards the end of 1951 separated by hundreds of acres of vacant or very thinly populated land.

I think the Vice-Chancellor's word should be accepted that it is not practicable to shift the College anywhere else now.

There are three other colleges, all these really in the heart of the city, with about 40 acres each. For a college on the outskirts of the city 50 acres is not too much, especially as there are two colleges, involved (7 acres being required for the Preceptor's College)—D in the map). More staff quarters are required than for the colleges in the heart of the city and for playgrounds alone the University requires 18 acres. Some of the land out of B & C is very low lying, being near the river and so are the paddy fields to the south—also paddy fields are costly to acquire.

One is not in a position to say what exactly influenced Shri C. Subramaniam to give the advice he gave to Rajaji in October 1952.

I have already shown that the area is not in the heart of the town. To hold after all the decisions taken earlier that the College should be built up six miles from the city was in my opinion so unreasonable as to be perverse.

The editor of the paper *Dinamani* referred to by Shri C. Subramaniam is no less a person than that exemplary character, Shri Ramnath Goenka. Shri Thiagarajan has informed me that he had offered that even if the land had come into his possession by acquisition, he would allow even ten years on lease to the paper to make other permanent arrangements.

It is most unusual for Governments in land acquisition proceedings to continue to receive objections once they take a decision after notifying all owners and over-rule objections.

It is also not explained why the Governor, Shri Sri Prakash [Prakasa] desired to see the file. My information is that Shri Ramnath Goenka spoke to him. He may recall this if he is reminded of this.

Not much weight can be attached to the legalistic point that Shri Subbaraj has no interest in the land. He was given in adoption to his uncle, could fairly continue to take interest in his natural father's right. Indeed Shri C. Subramaniam admits that at one or two conferences in the matter convened by Government Shri Subbaraj alone of all the owners or their representatives appeared.

Shri Thiagarajan did speak to Rajaji after the decision was modified in August 1953. Enquiry may be made of Rajaji about this.

Whatever the arguments about the plot C, there is no reason why Plot D, near the Preceptor's College should not be acquired—it is as far away from the city as plot B.

The municipal notification about the area being an industrial area specifically reserved the land under acquisition. Actually industry is expanding in the West and not in the east of the city.

In view of the ultimatum given to the College in June 1954 it is surprising that the Madras Government put on Sri Thiagarajan the blame for dragging on the case. They could have withdrawn the proceedings in 1954, leaving Sri Thiagarajan to repent for his obstinacy in not giving a "proper" reply. Sri Thiagarajan has made it abundantly clear that he could not do with the 27.15 acres offered. It will be recalled that the University agree with him that in any case 7 acres (plot D) are required for the Preceptor's College.

The Madras Government's decision to withdraw the proceedings under Section 48 was harsh and not supported by reason. Even if 30 more acres could not be acquired, 10 more could be. Higher Education is not less important than industry, and in any case for industry the land will now be very costly because of the delay.

In my opinion Shri Thiagarajan was right in contesting the threatened withdrawal in a court of law because all objections received in time had been overruled under Section 5 of the Madras Land Acquisition Act.

I accept Shri C. Subramaniam's contention that compensation is yet to be fixed and that it can only be subsequent to Section 6 notification.

If Shri Thiagarajan honestly feels, as I do and the Vice-Chancellor does that 27 acres is insufficient, he is right in challenging the withdrawal. The industrial use argument is not strong enough to prevent acquisition of say 10 more acres, including plot D.

If Shri Thiagarajan wins the case, the Madras Government will have to acquire all the 59 acres. If he loses, the College will suffer—for which the Madras Government should feel as much as Shri Thiagarajan, who has spent so much money on establishing educational institutions at his own expense. There is a possibility that the court may direct acquisition of say 37 acres, if they seek a minimum area for the two colleges.

My suggestion to the Madras Government would be to offer to acquire at least B & C plots, if they really want to help the College, provided the Madras University agree.

It is to be presumed that if acquisition proceedings continue on the above basis, the land acquisition officer will fix compensation justly. Because, whereas the owners can challenge his award, the applicant college can only reject it if it is unjustifiably high. Shri Subbaraj or his relatives bought 30 acres out of these plots in a court auction for Rs. 42,000 in 1942, and between then and 1952 only frontage areas were sold at Rs. 10,000 an acre. The Rs. 12 or 13 lakhs referred to in one of the former Collector's letter to Shri Thiagarajan was a

gross and unjust estimate, which he himself revised later to Rs. 2.65 lakhs.

I am still puzzled by Shri Medhi's reply to me (of which I sent you a copy) that the land cannot be acquired because instead of Rs. 12-13 lakhs Shri Thiagarajan wanted to give only Rs. 2.65 lakhs. Shri C. Subramaniam has not referred to this particular matter in his letter to you.

I think the court case should continue—it will clear up the law. But the Madras Government should not act in anger and should acquire at least 37 acres, to make up the 50 acres required by the University, for one college alone, when there are two.

56. Sampurnanand's Note⁶⁶

[Refer to items 130 and 131]

PRELIMINARY

I trust that my motives in writing this note will not be misunderstood. My intention is not to criticise but to point out certain difficulties that, to my mind, stand in the way of the full implementation of our plans and the speedy realisation of the objective which the nation has set before itself. As a natural corollary, I have also made certain suggestions which would rectify what appear to me to be shortcomings in our approach and procedure and remove the stresses to which the administrative machinery is being increasingly subjected.

1. The Planning Commission & State Governments.

It seems to me that the Commission has gradually strayed away, to a large extent, from the purpose for which it originally came into existence. It was expected that it would prepare a long-term Plan for the country covering a period of 20-25 years, breaking it up into four or five appropriate sections, each covering five years and dove-tailing one into the other. This has not been attempted. Each Five Year Plan is, to a large extent, an independent unit, although, of course, it stems from the preceding one and cannot but take account of the measure of success achieved by its predecessor. The second function of the Commission should have been to help the Centre and the States to prepare their own Plans within the general frame-work prepared by it, leaving them considerable latitude in the matter; and, thirdly, it should have taken up the work of coordinating the Central and State Plans and revising their Plans. Certain

66. Extracts from undated note. File No. 6/2/CF/60, Cabinet Secretariat Papers.

items would be found on experience to be capable of much quicker achievement than originally contemplated, others would in practice fail to catch up with the original draft. In such cases, refashioning the Plan and re-appropriation of funds should, within broad limits, have been permissible instead of the unspent funds being allowed to lapse. Unfortunately, all this is not happening. The Commission functions more or less as an executive body. Every item has to be discussed in detail. No item can be introduced or taken out without its express sanction which is, as a rule, not easily available. There is absolute rigidity. Funds may lapse but they cannot be reappropriated. The result of this has been two-fold. On the one hand, State Governments have to fight on two fronts, as it were. They have to convince the Commission as well as the Government of India of the propriety of their demands and are treated almost as immature children who cannot be trusted to understand matters pertaining to their own States and to deal with funds needed for the development of their territories. It is as if they had to be kept firmly under leash. On the other hand, the connection between the Centre and the States has become a little less intimate because of the introduction of a third party.

The difficulties which State Governments have to experience in preparing their budgets seem to be hardly realised. They manage, somehow, to present them at the time required by the Constitution, but the budget so presented does not always represent what the Government concerned considers the best utilisation of available resources. And it is hardly dignified to seek refuge before the Legislature by pleading helplessness and blaming the Government of India and the Planning Commission on every occasion. As an example of the severe handicaps under which State Governments are placed by such a procedure may be mentioned the mounting expenditure which they have to meet for what are technically classified as "non-development items". A State is a growing organisation and it is impossible to divide its functions rigidly into two watertight compartments. While preparing State Plans the Planning Commission takes into account every possible resource at the disposal of the State, its annual revenue and income from small savings, loans and fresh taxation. But there is no provision for non-development activities even though they may grow out of the Plan itself. If Education, Industry or Agriculture are to expand, headquarters and inspection staff has to be strengthened, but no account is taken of this. If roads are built as part of the Plan, their maintenance automatically falls under the non-development head. Expenditure of this kind, therefore, goes on increasing, growing parallel with the expansion of the Plan. Then, of course, there are such things as salaries of State servants which are strictly non-plan. The police will never be classified as a development department, but the general increase of the population and diffusion of industry add to the nature and volume

of the crime which the police has to cope with. This means addition to the police force and provision of police stations and barracks, all of which is non-plan. In Uttar Pradesh, there are court buildings almost a century old. Some of them are in a very dilapidated condition. New structures have to be put up and furniture provided, which again is non-plan. Even such a prosaic department as Printing and Stationery, grows with the growth of the Plan and entails heavy expenditure which unfortunately is treated as non-plan. The rigidity with which the word "Plan" is interpreted must be given up and provision made for all those activities which are vital to the life and growth of a healthy State. [...]

II. Growing Centralization of the Administration

Greater and every greater emphasis is placed every day on what has come to be called democratic decentralization. The States are advised to divest themselves of many of the powers exercised by them so far in the fields of Local Self-Government, Education, Agriculture, Co-operation and so on. This is all very good. [...]

[...] If greater trust were reposed in State Governments and greater initiative allowed to them, they would be able to carry on decentralisation with greater confidence. The delay and irritation caused by this lack of confidence may be illustrated by an example. Road projects financed from the Central Road Fund Reserve, which are prepared by State engineers, are required to be submitted for technical sanction by the Central Government engineers. It is certain that State engineers are not less qualified or less competent to handle technical details so as to assure the technical soundness of the various schemes; and, as a matter of fact, being in actual contact with local conditions, they are often better placed to form a judgment as to the best means of carrying out the purposes of the schemes. Any scrutiny by Central engineers in these cases is thus superfluous and results in delay in execution and consequently in delay in obtaining the benefits of better road communication. [...]

Insistence or rigidity is carried to extremes which reason can never justify. As an instance, sometime ago, a letter was received from the Central Ministry of Education that unless the Sports Councils in States were reorganized in the manner indicated and their maximum membership fixed between 7 to 9, the States would not receive any financial assistance from the Centre. It is difficult to understand any justification for such a communication. It is only an example of that tendency to concentrate power more and more in the hands of Central Ministries and to treat the States merely as docile agents for the execution of policies and programmes chalked out by the Centre in minutest detail. The use of the money-bag as an instrument of coercion is hardly ethical.

Another tendency has begun to manifest itself recently. Central Ministries want to deal directly with agencies which should normally be under the control of the State Governments. Here again, I shall give an example. Lists are published of teachers who have rendered distinguished service to the community. This all-India recognition is all to the good and highly commendable, but the procedure adopted is, to my mind, wrong. [...]

I do not want to make this note longer. As I stated in the beginning my intention is not to criticize either the Planning Commission or the Central Government, but to draw attention to certain facts of the situation which, to my mind, create unnecessarily complications. Let me hope that the note will be considered in the spirit in which it has been written.

57. Notes by K.N. Kaul⁶⁷

[Refer to item 144]

A : Leaf Powder as a source of manure

During our reclamation work of alkaline soils at Banthra we found out that the leaf powder is not only the best material for lowering the strength of alkalinity of the soil but it is also very good manure. The alkalinity is indicated technically by the concentration of the hydrogen ions in the soil solution. Variation in the ions concentration effect the assimilation of plant nutrients by the roots. When the reaction is alkaline, the nutrients are assimilated less and less till at very high alkalinity the assimilation stops and corrosive action starts. With the acid reaction assimilation of the nutrients is increased but when the soil is very acidic, assimilation is again effected and the plant suffers. The leaf powder on account of acid contents neutralises the alkali in the soil and at the same time on account of certain chemicals which have a controlling power on the concentration of ions (technically called buffers) the lowered conditions of alkalinity is maintained for a considerable time. Thus a condition is created in the soil in which the roots can survive and function properly for a considerable time. If root powder is repeatedly given to the fields mixed with irrigation water the growing crops do not show signs of injury from alkali and gradually the yields are improved.

In India, in late spring and summer we get our leaf fall. Trees and shrubs drop their old leaves and produce new leaves for the changed season. These

67. Undated notes. File No. 4/3/CF/60, Cabinet Secretariat.

leaves roll about and are wasted. A negligible small quantity is utilised by our "Bharbhojas" in the villages to roast grains. If we could collect all the leaves and get them powdered with portable grinding machines fitted on a moving vehicle we would be able to collect a very valuable material for the reclamation of our alkaline soils and at the same time increase the yield of our crops on ordinary fields.

The work at present seems very stupendous but if started on a humble scale it has potentialities to grow and develop by itself. We started doing this work at Banthra using our daily paid workers. In the beginning nobody took any interest in the surrounding villages in this work, but at the progress of work things have changed now. The villagers have started collecting leaves to utilise them as manure on the basis of our work. Now it has become a problem for us to collect leaves from the surrounding areas for our work.

The collection of the leaves at present is slightly troublesome. They are very light and occupy too much space. We are now planning to evolve a mechanical device for their collection. Our idea is to have a Hoover like gadget which can be taken from village to village to pick up the leaves and powder them at the spot and bag them for transport. We hope to do it in near future.

B. Drinking Water for Villages

In India we are so fortunately situated that we have enough sub-soil water in different parts of the country. The accompanying map of India showing mean annual rainfall indicates that throughout the year if proper measures are adopted, water can be stored for utilisation, not only for drinking purposes but for other purposes also like agriculture. Except in hilly areas where sub-soil water is only available in localised areas, everywhere in the alluvium enough water is available at different depths. For small amounts, hand pump is the cheapest device which can be installed in villages by persons of ordinary intelligence. A little training is required in drilling and fixing the hand pump.

The working of the hand pump depends on the vacuum created between the piston and the foot-valve. The water is lifted by the atmospheric pressure. Therefore, the distance between the valve and the water level is fixed. Theoretically it is 36 ft. but in actual practice we can only lift water to 25 ft. at the utmost. The hand pump, thus, can be utilised from the surface where the water level is 25 ft. and if the water level is lower than 25 ft. we will have to lower the pump to keep the working distance of 25 ft. between the valve and the water-level. This can be arranged by working the hand pump in a pit covered by a roof to keep away rain water from the pit. By increasing the depth of the pit and lowering the pump, water can be pumped out by a hand pump from

even 40 ft. or from lower depths. Thus the utility of the hand pump can never be ruled out under the conditions met with in different parts of the country. Only a trained organiser is required with a good amount of horse-sense.

The hand pumps are manufactured in India and are available in the market at very reasonable rates. I enclose a rough estimate of different articles required for the installation of a single set to give an idea of the net expense. There will certainly be local variation on account of local factors but they will not make much difference.

DRINKING WATER FOR VILLAGES

I. Hand Pump with Wheel.

1. Hand pump machine with wheel driven by hand complete along with 3 ft. strainer.	1 set @ 70/-each	Rs 70.00
2. 1½" dia. G.I. pipe	50 rft @ 1.75 rft	Rs 87.50
3. Boring upto 50 depth	50 rft @ 2.00 rft	Rs 100.00
4. Carting of material	L.S.	<u>Rs 25.00</u>
		Rs 282.50
Add 5% contingency		<u>Rs 14.00</u>
		Rs 296.50

Say Rs. 297.00 each

DRINKING WATER FOR VILLAGES

II. Hand Pump with handle without Wheel.

1. Hand pump with handle complete with 3 ft strainer	1 set @ 45/- Each	Rs. 45.00
2. 1½" dia. G.I Pipe	50 rft @ 1.75 rft	Rs. 87.50
3. Boring upto 50 ft depth	50 rft @ 2.00 rft	Rs. 100.00
4. Carting of material	L.S.	<u>Rs. 25.00</u>
		Rs 257.50
Add 5% contingency		<u>Rs 12.50</u>
		Rs. 270.00

Say Rs. 270.00

GLOSSARY

(Including abbreviations and names of places)

AICC	All Indian Congress Committee
AIR	All India Radio
AITUC	All India Trade Union Congress
ambar charkha	an improved model of spinning wheel (see SWJN/SS/31/pp. 57-64)
AMU	Aligarh Muslim University
ASI	Archaeological Survey of India
balwadi	crèche
Bangalore	Bengaluru
banian	undershirt
BBC	British Broadcasting Service
BHU	Banaras Hindu University
Bombay city	Mumbai
Burma	Myanmar
Calcutta	Kolkata
Ceylon	Sri Lanka
challkaras	silver leg ornament worn in Haryana
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
CPI	Communist Party of India
CPP	Congress Party in Parliament
CRO	Commonwealth Relations Office
CS	Commonwealth Secretary
CSIR	Council of Scientific and Industrial Research
Dacca	Dhaka
dai	midwife
dak bungalows	government rest house
DCC	District Congress Committee
DIB	Director, Intelligence Bureau
Djakarta	Jakarta

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

DK	Dravida Kazhagam
DMK	Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
EA Ministry	External Affairs Ministry
East Germany	German Democratic Republic
FB (M)	Forward Bloc (Marxist)
FRCS	Fellow of Royal College of Surgeons
FS	Foreign Secretary
Gaddi of Bhopal	seat of power of Bhopal
Gauhati	Guwahati
GDR	German Democratic Republic
GNP	Ganatantra Parishad
gram sevika	official of the Central Social Welfare Board
IAC	Indian Airlines Corporation
IAS	Indian Administrative Service
ICS	Indian Civil Service
INC	Indian National Congress
IP	Indian Police
IPI, Tokyo	International Press Institute, Tokyo
IT Act	Income Tax Act
J & K	Jammu and Kashmir
Jai Jagat	Victory to the World
JS (E)	Joint Secretary (East)
JS (W)	Joint Secretary (West)
JS, MEA	Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs
KVIC	Khadi and Village Industries Commission
LIC	Life Insurance Corporation
Madras city	Chennai
MEA	Ministry of External Affairs
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
Ministry of I & B	Ministry of Information and Broadcasting
Ministry of SR & CA	Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs
MJP	Mahagujarat Janata Parishad
MLA	Member, Legislative Assembly
MLC	Member, Legislative Council
MP	Member of Parliament/Madhya Pradesh
MRA	Moral Rearmament
mukhya sevika	senior official of the Central Social Welfare Board
musafarkhana (Rubat)	travel lodge
Mysore State	Karnataka
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

NDC	National Development Council
NEFA	North East Frontier Agency
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
NYU	New York University
O&M	Organisation and Method
Ooty	Udhagamandalam
PAWPI	Peasants and Workers' Party of India
PCC	Pradesh Congress Committee
Peking	Beijing
PEPSU	Patiala and East Punjab States Union
PIC	Project Implementation Committee
PM	Prime Minister
PMS	Prime Minister's Secretariat
Pondicherry	Puducherry
PPS	Principal Private Secretary
PSP	Praja Socialist Party
PTI	Press Trust of India
PWD	Public Works Department
<i>Rajya Sabha Debates</i>	<i>Parliamentary Debates in the Twenty-Eighth Session of the Rajya Sabha, Official Report, Rajya Sabha Secretariat, New Delhi</i>
Rajyapal	Governor
Rangoon	Yangon
RSP	Revolutionary Socialist Party
RSS	Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh
SBI	State Bank of India
SC	Scheduled Castes
SEATO	South East Asia Treaty Organisation
SG	Secretary General
Sri Lanka	Ceylon
ST	Scheduled Tribes
SWJN/FS	<i>Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru, First Series</i>
SWJN/SS	<i>Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru, Second Series</i>
TASS	Telegrafnoe Agentsvo Sovetskogo Soiuza
TCM	Technical Cooperation Mission
Thanedars	Official in-charge of the police stations
tola	a weight measure; 1 tola equivalent to 11.66 grams
UGC	University Grants Commission
UK	United Kingdom
UN/UNO	United Nations Organisations

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

UP	Uttar Pradesh
UPI	United Press of India
UPSC	Union Public Service Commission
US/USA	United States of America
usar	fallow, sterile, waste land
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
West Germany	Federal Republic of Germany
White Paper III	Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, <i>Notes, Memoranda and Letters Exchanged Between the Governments of India and China, November 1959-March 1960, White Paper No. III</i> [New Delhi, 29 February 1960].
White Paper IV	Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, <i>Notes, Memoranda and Letters Exchanged Between the Governments of India and China, March 1960-November 1960. White Paper No. IV</i> [New Delhi, 9 November 1960].

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- In the midst of questions on Laos and China, Nehru was asked, "You must have seen Rajaji's statement that he was keeping peace between you and Sardar Patel"; to which he replied, "I hope he might try to keep the peace even now. It would be a good thing."
- Nehru assured pressmen that the Swatantra Party was performing the important function of being a platform for those who are wrong in thinking and action and otherwise out-of-date.
- Nehru wrote that the idea of a Naga State was "completely unreal and verging on the fantastic."
- On Mussoorie: "It is a place where tourists and pleasure-seekers go for a short while. It has no individuality and it is no place for serious people to live for long."
- Nehru informed the Lok Sabha on 9 March that the cyclone victims of Mauritius would improve their health by eating wheat rather than arhar dal and rice.
- Nehru once wrote "I do not quite understand what our Special Officer in charge of Goa Affairs does. As far as I can make out, he has very little to do and it would make little difference if he was not there."
- To Bhupesh Gupta's question about the death of Thirunavukarasu in Pondicherry, Nehru replied "If the House so wishes, I can read out the statement made by the deceased to the police before he died naturally, not after his death."
- Fed up with C. D. Deshmukh, Nehru wrote: "He has not got a judicial temperament and he comes to conclusions from one-sided accounts and then sticks to them."
- Khrushchev told Nehru, "The great news which has shaken the world is that Shah's wife is now expecting." Nehru added, "The great question is whether the child is going to be a boy or a girl." And Khrushchev followed up "Shah is not a wise person. We are indifferent to whether Shah's wife is pregnant, but will welcome a child regardless of whether it is a boy or a girl."
- When Nehru was asked at a press conference why all UP universities were troubled, he answered, "You don't want me to say that because I have come away from U.P. all that has happened."

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